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**The Church
Defended: the
reformation of the
laws and orders
ecclesiastical in
the Church of
England: Volume 1**

Richard Hooker





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**The Church Defended: the reformation of the laws
and orders ecclesiastical in the Church of England:
Volume 1**

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A
PREFACE

TO THEM THAT SEE (AS THEY THINK IT)

THE REFORMATION OF LAWS',
AND
ORDERS ECCLESIASTICAL,
IN THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THOUGH for no other cause, yet for this; that posterity ^{The cause} may know we have not loosely through silence permitted ^{and occasion} things to pass away as in a dream, there shall be for men's ^{handling} information extant thus much concerning the present state ^{these} of the Church of God established amongst us, and their ^{things, and} careful endeavour which would have upheld the same: ^{what might} At your hands, beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus ^{be wished} Christ, (for in him the love which we bear unto all that ^{in them,} would but seem to be born of him, it is not the sea of ^{for whose} your gall and bitterness that shall ever drown,) I have no ^{sake so} great cause to look for other than the selfsame portion ^{is taken.} and lot, which your manner hath been hitherto to lay on them that concur not in opinion and sentence with you³.

[¹ So early add. "the laws." K.] "verie such a thing offered itself
[The same foreboding sense of "unto our eyes, in reading your
thought is apparent in book v. 79, 16.] "bookes, and we had not skill
² (Christ. Letter, &c. p. 4. "May "howe to judge otherwise of the
"wee not trilie say, that under "handling of your penne and of
"the shewe of inveighing against "the scope of your matter. Not-
"Puritanes, the chiefest pointes of "withstanding because rash judge-
"popish blasphemie are many times "ment may prejudice honest
"and in many places by divers men "travailes, and faithfull labourers
"not obscurely broached, both in "may have their unadvised slippes,
"sermons and in writing . . . and "and we could not tell how

Profer.
Ch. l. s.

But our hope is, that the God of peace shall (notwithstanding man's nature too impatient of contumelious malediction) enable us quietly and even gladly to suffer all things, for that work sake which we covet to perform.

[2.] The wonderful zeal and fervour wherewith ye have withstood the received orders of this Church, was the first thing which caused me to enter into consideration, whether (as all your published books and writings peremptorily maintain) every Christian man, fearing God, stand bound to join with you for the furtherance of that which ye term the *Lord's Discipline*. Wherein I must plainly confess unto you, that before I examined your sundry declarations in that behalf, it could not settle in my head to think, but that undoubtedly such numbers of otherwise right well affected and most religiously inclined minds had some marvellous reasonable inducements, which led them with so great earnestness that way. But when once, as near as my slender ability would serve, I had with travail and care performed that part of the Apostle's advice and counsel in such cases, whereby he willeth to "try all things!" and was come at the length so far, that there remained only the other clause to be satisfied, wherein he concludeth that "what good is "must be held;" there was in my poor understanding no

<p>"scale, love, or glorie, might carie "a man of such towardlie and "excellent giftes, in the first shew- "ing of himselfe to the worlde; "or that an earnest striving and "bending yourselfe in heate of "disputation against the one side, "might dazle your eyes, and draw "your hand at unawares to farre "and too favourable to the other "side; or che peradventure we "might mistake your meaning, "and so wee should doe you wrong "against our willes. We thought "it therefore our parte, in regarde "of our dutie to the Church, and "most agreeing to charitie, both "for your credit and our ease, in "all Christian love to intreat you, "that as you tender the good es- "tate of Christe's Church among "us, and of thousands converted to "the gospel, you would in like</p>	<p>"publike manner (but plainly and "directlie) show unto us and all "English protestants your owne "true meaning, and how your "wordes in divers things doe "agree with the doctrine established "among us." On which Hooker's "note is, "That because they are loth "to prejudice honest travellors by "rash judgment, and it might be "they misooke my meaning, they "thought it fittest in charitie, in "great care of my credit, and in "all Christian love, to set abroad "their suspitions, and to give no- "tise of alarm throughout hir ma- "jesty's dominions, till such time "as my mind were explained unto "them for satisfaction in their "doubts, whereby they might be "the better furnished to satisfy "others in my behalf."</p>
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[1 Thess. v. 21.]

remedy, but to set down this as my final resolute persuasion: "Surely the present form of church-government which the laws of this land have established is such, as no law of God nor reason of man hath hitherto been alleged of force sufficient to prove they do ill, who to the uttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof." Contrariwise, "The other, which instead of it we are required to accept, is only by error and misconceit named the ordinance of Jesus Christ, no one proof as yet brought forth whereby it may clearly appear to be so in very deed."

Profess.
Ch. II. 1.

[3.] The explication of which two things I have here thought good to offer into your own hands, heartily beseeching you even by the meekness of Jesus Christ, whom I trust ye love; that, as ye tender the peace and quietness of this church, if there be in you that gracious humility which hath ever been the crown and glory of a Christianly-disposed mind, if your own souls, hearts, and consciences (the sound integrity whereof can but hardly stand with the refusal of truth in personal respects) be, as I doubt not but they are, things most dear and precious unto you: let "not the faith which ye have in our Lord Jesus Christ" be blemished "with partialities";¹ regard not who it is which speaketh, but weigh only what is spoken. Think not that ye read the words of one who bendeth himself as an adversary against the truth which ye have already embraced; but the words of one who desireth even to embrace together with you the self-same truth, if it be the truth; and for that cause (for no other, God he knoweth) hath undertaken the burdensome labour of this painful kind of conference. For the plainer access whereunto, let it be lawful for me to rip up to the very bottom, how and by whom your Discipline was planted, at such time as this age we live in began to make first trial thereof.

II. ²A founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French Church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him. His bringing

¹ James ii. 1. tended Holy Discipline: in which
² [Compare the second chapter of a similar sketch is given of Calvin's
Abp. Bancroft's Survey of the pre- proceedings at Geneva.]

amongst them again; and secondly, to live in obedience unto such orders concerning the exercise of their religion, and the form of their ecclesiastical government, as those their true and faithful ministers of God's word had agreeably to scripture set down for that end and purpose.

[5.] When these things began to be put in ure, the people also (what causes moving them thereunto, themselves best know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irrefully to champ upon the bit they had taken into their mouths; the rather, for that they grew by means of this innovation into dislike with some Churches near about them, the benefit of whose good friendship their state could not well lack!

It was the manner of those times (whether through men's desire to enjoy alone the glory of their own enterprises, or else because the quickness of their occasions required present despatch; so it was,) that every particular Church did that within itself, which some few of their own thought good, by whom the rest were all directed. Such number of Churches then being, though free within themselves, yet small, common conference beforehand might have eased them of much after trouble! But a greater inconvenience it bred, that every later endeavoured to be certain degrees more removed from conformity with the Church of Rome, than the rest before had been¹; whereupon grew marvellous great dissimilitudes, and by reason thereof, jealousies, heart-burnings, jars and

Proph.
Ch. 11.

¹ [“Sous pretexte de conserver
“les libertes de la ville, et de ce
“qu'ils n'avoient pas voulu se con-
“former à l'usage de Rome pour
“la Communion, ils firent pronon-
“cer un arrêt au Conseil, &c.
Spon. II. 18.]

[Chr. Letter, p. 39. “You
“blame them, that in that trouble
“some time they wanted common
“conference.” Hooker, MS. note.

“No man blamed for those de-
“fects, which necessity casteth upon
“him.”
[Chr. Letter, p. 45. “The
“Church of Rome favourable
“admitted to be of the house of
“God; Calvin with the reformed
“churches full of faults, and more
“of all they which endeavoured to be
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“most removed from conformitie
“with the Church of Rome.”

Hooker, MS. note. “True,

“For are not your Anabaptists,

“Familists, Libertines, Arrians, and

“other like extreme reformers of

“popery grown by that very means

“hateful to the whole world? Are

“not their heresies a thousand times

“more execrable and hateful than

“popery?”

“Is it then a matter heinous to

“looke awry upon any man which

“hath been earnest against the

“Pope? As earnest men that way

“as St. Calvin are nothing spared

“by you and yours in any such

“conflict. You honour Calvin as

“the father of discipline; this is the

“boil that will not be touched.”]

Preface,
Ch. ii. 3

discords amongst them. Which, notwithstanding, might have easily been prevented, if the orders, which each Church did think fit and convenient for itself, had not so peremptorily been established under that high commanding form, which tendered them unto the people, as things everlastingly required by the law of that Lord of lords, against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this mean it came to pass, that one Church could not but accuse and condemn another of disobedience to the will of Christ, in those things where manifest difference was between them: whereas the selfsame orders allowed, but yet established in more wary and suspense manner, as being to stand in force till God should give the opportunity of some general conference what might be best for every of them afterwards to do; this I say had both prevented all occasion of just dislike which others might take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the authors themselves of entering into farther consultation afterwards. Which though never so necessary they could not easily now admit, without some fear of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done, they became for ever after resolute to maintain.

[A.B. 1538.] Calvin therefore and the other two his associates, stiffly refusing to administer the holy Communion to such as would not quietly, without contradiction and murmur, submit themselves unto the orders which their solemn oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarrel banished the town¹.

[5.] A few years after² (such was the levity of that people) the places of one or two of their ministers being fallen void, they were not before so willing to be rid of their learned pastor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and which were loath to part with him, had not irresistible earnestness been used. One of the town ministers, that saw in what manner the people were bent for the revocation of Calvin, gave him notice of their affection in this sort³.

¹ [MS. note on Ch. Letter, p. 29. "De Calvino vere quod Tul-
lius de Q. Metel. "De civitate de-
cedere maluit quam de senectia."] ² Orat. vol. III. p. 151. Oratione
"pro Balbo" c. 5.]
³ [1541, 1 May. Spon. II. 25.]
⁴ Epist. Cal. 24, [p. 27, ed. Gen.

"The senate of two hundred being assembled, they all
 "crave Calvin. The next day a general convocation. They
 "cry in like sort again all, We will have Calvin, that
 "good and learned man, Christ's minister. This," saith
 he, "when I understood, I could not choose but praise
 "God, nor was I able to judge otherwise than that 'this
 "was the Lord's doing, and that it was marvellous in our
 "eyes,' and that 'the stone which the builders refused
 "was now made the head of the corner!'" The other
 two³ whom they had thrown out, (together with Calvin,) they were content should enjoy their exile. Many causes might lead them to be more desirous of him. First, his yielding unto them in one thing might happily put them in hope, that time would breed the like easiness of condescending further unto them. For in his absence he had persuaded them, with whom he was able to prevail, that albeit himself did better like of common bread to be used in the Eucharist, yet the other they rather should accept, than cause any trouble in the church about it⁴. Again, they saw that the name of Calvin waxed every day greater abroad⁵, and that together with his fame, their infamy was spread, which had so rashly and childishly ejected him. Besides, it was not unlikely but that his credit in the world might many ways stand the poor town in great stead; as the truth is, their minister's foreign estimation

1657. ² In crastinum Ducentorum
 "congregatur concilium, et omnes
 "petunt Calvinum: congregatur et
 "generale sequenti die, eisdem cla-
 "mant omnino, Calvinum probant et
 "doctum virum Christi ministrum
 "volumus. Quod cum intellexis-
 "sem, non potui non laudare Deum,
 "aliterque [neque aliter?] judicare,
 "quam quod a Domino esset factum
 "mirum, et esset mirabile in oculis
 "nostris: quodque lapidem quem
 "reprobabant edificantes in caput
 "factet anguli." Bernard to Calvin,
 6 Feb. 1541.

³ Luke xx. 17. [Ps. cxviii. 22,
 23.]

⁴ [There seems to be a slight
 oversight here. Farel and Couraut
 (not Viret) were the two ejected
 with Calvin in 1538. Couraut died

the same year. (Calv. Ep. p. 10.)
 Viret was before that time settled at
 Lausanne, but returned to Geneva
 for a time to assist Calvin in the
 new settlement, 1541; as did Farel
 from Neuchâtel, where he had ob-
 tained an appointment. Bayle, art.
 Viret. Spies. 11. 19, 25.]

⁵ [Calvinus bonos nonnullos
 "ista mutatione usque adeo offensus,
 "ut etiam a cena nisi abstinendum
 "putarent, serio monuit, ne ob
 "istat abbas-que litem moverent."
 Bera. Vit. Calv.]

⁶ [By his theological lectures at
 Strasburgh; his settlement of the
 church there; his defence of the
 church itself of Geneva against
 Cardinal Sadoleit; his Institutes,
 Commentary on the Romans, and
 Book on the Lord's Supper.]

Preface.
Ch. 8. 4.

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hitherto hath been the best stake in their hedge. But whatsoever secret respects were likely to move them, for contenting of their minds Calvin returned (as it had been another Tully) to his old home.

[4.] He ripely considered how gross a thing it were for men of his quality, wise and grave men, to live with such a multitude, and to be tenants at will under them, as their ministers, both himself and others, had been. For the remedy of which inconvenience, he gave them plainly to understand, that if he did become their teacher again, they must be content to admit a complete form of discipline, which both they and also their pastors should now be solemnly sworn to observe for ever after. Of which discipline the main and principal parts were these: A standing ecclesiastical court to be established; perpetual judges in that court to be their ministers; others of the people to be annually chosen (twice so many in number as they) to be judges together with them in the same court: these two sorts to have the care of all men's manners, power of determining all kind of ecclesiastical causes, and authority to convent, to control, to punish, as far as with excommunication, whomsoever they should think worthy, none either small or great excepted.

This device I see not how the wisest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present estate of Geneva did then require. For their bishop and his clergy being (as it is said) departed from them by moonlight, or howsoever, being departed; to choose in his room any other bishop, had been a thing altogether impossible. And for their ministers to seek that themselves alone might have coercive power over the whole church, would perhaps have been hardly construed at that time. But when so frank an offer was made, that for every one minister there should be two of the people to sit and give voice in the ecclesiastical consistory, what inconvenience could they easily find which themselves might not be able always to remedy?

Howbeit (as evermore the simpler sort are, even when they see no apparent cause, jealous notwithstanding over the secret intents and purposes of wiser men) this propo-

sition of his did somewhat trouble them. Of the ministers themselves which had stayed behind in the city when Calvin was gone, some, upon knowledge of the people's earnest intent to recall him to his place again, had beforehand written their letters of submission, and assured him of their allegiance for ever after, if it should like him to hearken unto that public suit. But yet misdoubting what might happen, if this discipline did go forward; they objected against it the example of other reformed churches living quietly and orderly without it. Some of chiefest place and countenance amongst the laity professed with greater stomach their judgments, that such a discipline was little better than Popish tyranny disguised and tendered unto them under a new form¹. This sort, it may be²,

Preface,
Ch. ii. 4

¹ [Capito, of Basle, writes thus to Fare] in Calvin's Epist. p. 6. "Auditis, Tyranni esse voluntis in liberam ecclesiam, voluntis movem Pontificatum revocare? Bena: Non deerant . . . qui Papisticam tyrannidem sic revocari clamarent." Chr. Letter, p. 39. "After speaking of his restoring and reestablishing of discipline, you have in one place, 'Many things might lead them (to be more devoted of him'). And in another place, 'he rightlie considered,' &c. 'This devise I see not howe the wisest' &c. Therefore we pray you to tell us how such 'might lead' and 'may bees', such, entering into his thought, and crasse commend- ing that for his devise which he simply propounded as out of the scriptures of God, may not drop into your reader's heart such un- needed impressions, as may make him highly admire R. H. great gravitie and judicious wisdom, and J. Calvin's carnall policie, fine "hipocritie and peremptorie folie." Hooker, MS. note. "Safer to discuss all the saints in heaven than M. Calvin. Howe bold they are themselves with as great men as M. Calvin, namely, Chryso- stome, Jerome, Ambrose, Austin. Calvin himself not hereby justified

"from censuring both the doeds and writings of men which went before him.—The acts of every present age most sincerely judged of by posterity. While men see living the judgment of their friends is perverted with love, the verdict of their enemies corrupt through envie. That Calvin's bitterness was a great cause to augment his trouble. His nature from a child observed by his own parents, as Bena saith, was propense to sharpe and severe reprehension where he thought any fault was. ('Destina- bat eum pater ab initio theologie studii, ad quæ utro illum insti- nare ex eo colligebat, quod in illa etiam tenera ætate mirum in mo- dum religiosus esset, et severus omnium in suis sodalibus vitiorum cæcos'). And this sort to be mis- liked in him. But his manner of dealing against them which were in deed bad men was that which wrought him self much woe, and did them no good. His friends saw this, as appeareth by his 95 Epist. unto Farellus. [N. non more rescrip- sisse non inficiatus est Bucerus. Nam hoc unum causatus est cur mihi non recitaret, quia nollet mihi frustra stomachum movere. Hinc collige quantum amarulen- tia fuerit, quod ille iudicavit pro-

Preface,
Ch. 2.

had some fear, that the filling up of the seats in the consistory with so great a number of laymen was but to please the minds of the people, to the end they might think their own sway somewhat; but when things came to trial of practice, their pastors' learning would be at all times of force to over-persuade simple men, who knowing the time of their own presidentship to be but short would always stand in fear of their ministers' perpetual authority: and among the ministers themselves, one being so far in estimation above the rest, the voices of the rest were likely to be given for the most part respectively, with a kind of secret dependency and awe: so that in show a marvellous indifferently composed senate ecclesiastical was

"sua prudentia non posse a me
"sine graviore offensione trans-
"mitti." p. 388.] "His own words
"declaring how in his sermons he
"handled and delt with his adver-
"saries, Epist. 15." ["Ita ejus
"impetratem palam et aperte etiam
"pro concione sagillaban, ut nihil
"minus aut ipsi aut aliis dubius
"esset sermo, quam si vel nominatim,
"aut, vel digno demonstrarem."
p. 19. On his deathbed he thus
expressed himself to the senators of
Geneva: "Ulro certe agnosco me
"vobis hoc quoque nomine pluri-
"mum debere, quod vehementiam
"illam meam interdum immodera-
"tam æquo animo tulistis." Beza.]
"His usage of H, S, for M, father
"that now is. Such courses con-
"demned by Beza in the fourth of
"his Epistles against one Adrian a
"Dutch minister, p. 43." ["Hoc
"certe non fuit vel prudentia vel
"boni etiam pastoris in illustris-
"simum illum Principem somnatum
"declamasse."]
"Id. note on p. 37. "Remember
"to make a comparison between
"Calvin and Beza, how different
"they were in natural disposition,
"and yet how linked in unity and
"concord, Calvin being of a stiff
"nature, Beza of a pliable, the one
"stern and severe, the other tracti-
"ble and gentle. Both wise and
"discreet men. Whereby we see
"what it is for any one church or

"place of government to have two,
"one succeeding another, and both
"in their waies excellent, although
"unlike. For Beza was one whom
"no man would displeas, Calvin
"one whom no man durst. His
"dependants both abroad and at
"home; his intelligence from for-
"rein churches; his correspon-
"dence every where with the
"chiefes; his industry in pursuing
"them which did at any time openly
"either withstand his proceedings
"or gainsay his opinions; his booke
"intituled, 'contra Nebulonem quem-
"dam;' his writing but of three
"lines in disgrace of any man as
"forcible as any proscription
"throughout all reformed churches;
"his receipts and answers of as
"great authority as decretall epi-
"stles. His grace in preaching the
"measent of all other gifts in him,
"["Facundia contempit et verbo-
"rum parvus." Beza.] yet even
"that way so had in honour and
"estimation, that an hearer of his
"being asked wherefore he came
"not sometime to other men's ser-
"mons as well as Calvin's, an-
"swered, That if Calvin and S.
"Paul himself should preach both
"at one house, he would leave S.
"Paul to heare Calvin. Zanch.
"tom. VII. Epist. ante Miscell.
"This reference is from the C. C. C.
"Transcript.]

to govern, but in effect one only man should, as the spirit and soul of the residue, do all in all.¹ But what did these vain surmises boot? Brought they were now to so strait an issue, that of two things they must choose one: namely, whether they would to their endless disgrace, with ridiculous lightness dismiss him whose restitution they had in so impotent manner desired; or else condescend unto that demand, wherein he was resolute either to have it, or to leave them. They thought it better to be somewhat hardly yoked at home, than for ever abroad discredited. Wherefore in the end those orders were on all sides assented unto: with no less alacrity of mind than cities unable to hold out longer are wont to shew, when they take conditions such as it liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow straits of advantage. [Nov. 20]

[5.] Not many years were over-passed, before these twice-sworn men adventured to give their last and hottest assault to the fortress of the same discipline; childishly granting^[1553] by common consent of their whole Senate, and that under their town seal, a relaxation to one Bertelier, whom the Eldership had excommunicated²: further also decreeing, with strange absurdity, that to the same Senate it should belong to give final judgment in matter of excommunication, and to absolve whom it pleased them: clean contrary to their own former deeds and oaths. The report of which decree being forthwith brought unto Calvin; "Before," saith he, "this decree take place, either my blood or banishment shall sign it." Again, two days before the communion should be celebrated, his speech was publickly to like effect: "Kill me if ever this hand do reach forth the things that are holy to them whom the Church hath judged despisers³." Whereupon, for fear of tumult, the forenamed Bertelier was by his friends advised for that time not to use the liberty granted him by the Senate, nor to pre-

¹ [Compare Bancroft, Survey, p. 20.] ² [Calv. Epist. p. 163.] ³ [Inter concionandum, elata voce ac manu, multa de sacris mysteriis in eorum contemptores locutus: 'At ego, inquit, Chry-

ostinum secutus vim quidem non opposam, sed ultro me potius occidi facile patiar, quam hæc manus contemptoribus Dei, rite iudicatis, sacra Domini portet." Beza.]

sent himself in the church, till they saw somewhat further what would ensue. After the communion quietly ministered, and some likelihood of peaceable ending of these troubles without any more ado, that very day in the afternoon, besides all men's expectation, concluding his ordinary sermon, he telleth them, that because he neither had learned nor taught to strive with such as are in authority, "therefore," saith he, "the case so standing as now it doth, let me use these words of the apostle unto you, 'I commend you unto God and the word of his grace';" and so bade them heartily all adieu.¹

[6.] It sometimes cometh to pass, that the readiest way which a wise man hath to conquer, is to fly. This voluntary and unexpected mention of sudden departure caused presently the Senate (for according to their wonted manner they still continued only constant in unconstancy) to gather themselves together, and for a time to suspend their own decree, leaving things to proceed as before till they had heard the judgment of four Helvetian cities² concerning the matter which was in strife. This to have done at the first before they gave assent unto any order had shewed some wit and discretion in them: but now to do it was as much as to say in effect, that they would play their parts on a stage. Calvin therefore dispatched with all expedition his letters unto some principal pastor in every of those cities, craving earnestly at their hands, to respect this cause as a thing whereupon the whole state of religion and piety in that church did so much depend, that God and all good men were now inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unless those four cities by their good means might be brought to give sentence with the

¹ [Acts xx. 32.]
² [Locum illum insignem Actuum Apostolicorum forte tractans, in quo Paulus Ecclesie Ephesinae valedicere testatus est eum non esse, qui adversus magistratum pugitare sciret aut doceret, ut in ea quam audivisset doctrina perseveraret, tandem, veluti postremam hanc concionem Germanave habiturus, "Et quandoquidem, inquit, ita se res habent, sicut mihi quoque, fratres, apud vos hæc Apostoli verba usurpare, Commendo vos Deo et sermoni gratie ipsius," que voces tum accitatos illos mirifice percolerunt, tum bonos etiam tanto magis serio officii admonstrant." Beza.]
³ [Zurich, Berne, Schaffhausen, Basle. See the letters from Calvin to Viret and Bullinger, and the case submitted to the Church of Zurich, with Bullinger's answer, in Calvin's Epistles, p. 163-171.]

ministers of Geneva, when the cause should be brought before them: yea so to give it, that two things it might effectually contain; the one an absolute approbation of the discipline of Geneva as consonant unto the word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs or ands; the other an earnest admonition not to innovate or change the same. His vehement request herein as touching both points was satisfied. For albeit the said Helvetian Churches did never as yet observe that discipline, nevertheless, the Senate of Geneva having required their judgment concerning these three questions: First, "After what manner, by God's commandment, according to the scripture and unspotted religion, excommunication is to be exercised:" Secondly, "Whether it may not be exercised some other way than by the Consistory:" Thirdly, "What the use of their Churches was to do in this case¹:" answer was returned from the said Churches, "That they had heard already of those consistorial laws, and did acknowledge them to be *godly* ordinances *drawing towards* the prescript of the word of God; for which cause they did not think it good for the Church of Geneva by innovation to change the same, but rather to keep them as they were²." Which answer, although not answering unto the former demands, but respecting what Master Calvin had judged requisite for them to answer, was notwithstanding accepted without any further reply: in as much as they plainly saw, that when stomach doth strive with wit, the match is not equal. And so the heat of their former contentions began to slake.

[7.] The present inhabitants of Geneva, I hope, will not take it in evil part, that the faultiness of their people heretofore is by us so far forth laid open, as their own learned guides and pastors have thought necessary to discover it unto the world. For out of their books and writings it is that I have collected this whole narration, to the end it might thereby appear in what sort amongst them that discipline was

¹ Epist. 166.
² [Ballinger to Calvin, Epist. p. 170. "Dudum audivisse nos de his, in istius Ecclesie Consistorio, et agnoscere illas suas esse, et accedere ad verbi Dei prescriptum: ideoque non videri admittendum ut per innovationem mutantur." Calvin's own statement of the affair may be found in his correspondence, p. 163-172.]

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planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst ourselves. The reason which moved Calvin herein to be so earnest, was, as Beza himself testifieth¹, "For that he saw "how needful these bridles were, to be put in the jaws of "that city." That which by wisdom he saw to be requisite for that people, was by as great wisdom compassed.

But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Calvin did for establishment of his discipline, seemeth more commendable than that which he sought for the countenancing of it established². Nature worketh in us all a love to our own counsels. The contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that love. Our love set on fire to maintain that which once we have done, sharpeneth the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all means to reason for it. Wherefore a marvel it were if a man of so great capacity, having such incitements to make him desirous of all kind of furtherances unto his cause, could espy in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the least a probable opinion of likelihood, that divine authority itself was the same way somewhat inclinable. And

¹ "Quod eam urbem videt om-
"nino his frenis indigne."
² [Chr. Letter, p. 42. "If such
"bold and bare affirmations may go
"for payment, why may we not as
"well heare and believe Maister
"Harding, which calles all the
"whole and pure doctrine believed
"and professed in England, A
"wicked new devise of Geneva!"
Hooker, MS. note. "Do not you
"yourself call the discipline which
"they use in Geneva, a new found
"discipline? p. 41. If it be a new
"found thing, and not found els-
"where till Geneva had erected it,
"yourself must say of discipline, it
"is a new devise of Geneva: except
"you recant your opinion concern-
"ing the newnes of it. For all the
"world doth know that the first
"practise thereof was in Geneva.
"You bragging it to be but a new
"found thing must either shew us
"some author more ancient, or els
"acknowledge it as we do to have
"been there devised. If you excuse
"the speech and say it is ironical,
"you betray yourself to be a fa-

"vourer of that part, and confess
"yourself an egregious dissembler.
"Because the anti-Trinitarians
"doe say, that our doctrine of the
"glorious and blessed Trinity is a
"wicked new devise of the Pope,
"will you say that this may as well
"be believed as their speech which
"say that sundry other things in the
"papacie are both new and wicked?
"Although I terme not their disci-
"pline wicked for mine owne part,
"Only I hold it a new devise."
The passage referred to stands
thus in p. 45 of the Chr. Letter:
"Is that new found discipline so
"marie sealed with our English
"creed, that such expert archers
"aiming at the one must needs
"hit the other?" On which Hook-
"er's note is, "A new found disci-
"pline! who is able to endure such
"blasphemy? You speake but in
"jest. Were it known that you
"meane as you say, surely those
"wordes might cost you dear. But
"they are incident into your part,
"and have in that respect their safe
"conduct.]"

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all which the wit even of Calvin was able from thence to draw, by sifting the very utmost sentence and syllable, is no more than that certain speeches there are which to him did seem to intimate that all Christian churches ought to have their Elderships endued with power of excommunication, and that a part of those Elderships every where should be chosen out from amongst the laity, after that form which himself had framed Geneva unto. But what argument are ye able to shew, whereby it was ever proved by Calvin, that any one sentence of Scripture doth necessarily enforce these things, or the rest wherein your opinion concurrerth with his against the orders of your own church?

[8.] We should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one his exceeding pains in composing the Institutions of Christian religion; the other his no less industrious travails for exposition of holy Scripture according unto the same Institutions. In which two things whosoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them, if they gainsayed; and of glory above them, if they consented. His writings published after the question about that discipline was once begun omit not any the least occasion of extolling the use and singular necessity thereof. Of what account the Master of Sentences¹ was in the church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of reformed churches Calvin had purchased; so that the perfectest divines were judged they, which were skillfullest in Calvin's writings. His books almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by². French churches, both

¹ [Peter Lombard. A. D. 1141. See Cave, Hist. Lit. l. 667, and Heumann ap. Broeker. Hist. Phil. III. 717. "Fastigium summum theologicæ scholasticæ assuetus illi ætati visus est, ejusque vestigiis insistere pulchrum duxit ipsius posteritas scholastica."] ² [What should the world doe with the old musty doctors? Allege scripture, and shew it alleged in the sense that Calvin

"alloweth, and it is of more force in any man's defense, and to the proofs of any assertion, than if ten thousand Augustines, Jeromes, Chrysostomes, Cyrilians, or whosoever els were brought forth. Doe we not daily see that men are accused of heresie for holding that which the fathers held; and that they never are cleere, if they find not somewhat in Calvin to justify themselves?" MS. note of Hooker

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under others abroad and at home in their own country, all cast according to that mould which Calvin had made. The Church of Scotland in erecting the fabric of their reformation took the selfsame pattern. Till at length the discipline, which was at the first so weak, that without the staff of their approbation, who were not subject unto it themselves, it had not brought others under subjection, began now to challenge universal obedience¹, and to enter into open conflict with those very Churches, which in desperate extremity had been relievers of it.

[9.] To one of those churches which lived in most peaceable sort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other professions singular, as also with divines whose equals were not elsewhere to be found, a church ordered by Gualter's discipline, and not by that which Geneva adoreth; unto this church, the Church of Heidelberg, there cometh one who craving leave to dispute publicly defendeth with open disdain of their government, that "to a minister with his Eldership power is given by the law of God to excommunicate whomsoever, yea even kings and princes themselves". Here were the seeds sown of that controversy which sprang up between Beza and Erastus about the matter of excommunication, whether there ought to be in all churches an Eldership

in the titlepage of "A Christian Letter," &c.]
¹ Two things there are which trouble greatly these later times: "one, that the Church of Rome cannot, another, that Geneva will not err." MS. note of Hooker on Chr. Letter, p. 37.]
² "Accidit, ut Anglus quidam, qui propter rem vacillans in Anglia ferebatur excessiva, doctoris titulo cuperet insigniri, et de adiaphoris et vane gloriæ disputacionem proponeret. Hanc theologiam inire noluerunt, ne scilicet Anglus offenderet, . . . ut autem nostræ res turbarentur, pro nihilo, ut viderat, duxerunt. Quare inter alias hanc thesin proposuit; sponte in quavis recte constituta ecclesia hanc servari procuratoriam, in qua minister cum suo dilecto ad eam rem presbyterio jus teneant, quosvis peccantes, etiam

"Principes, excommunicandi," Erastus, Prof. Thesium. The dispute occurred A. D. 1578. But the work was not published till after Erastus' death, 1589; the dispute having been quieted for the time by the interference of the Church of Zurich, and Frederic, Elector Palatine. Beza replied, 1596, by his tract "de vera Excommunicatione et Christiano Presbyterio;" in the Preface to which he charges the publisher of Erastus' work as follows, "An boni et pii homines auctores tibi fuerunt, ut clam ista excuderet? ut pro Leodien, vel aliorum in Anglia civitatis nomine, Fesculium fictitium supponeret?" And in a letter to Whitgift, (Streype, Whitgift, III. 302.) he intimates the same; and Whitgift in his reply (II. 168) allows it, though disclaiming all connivance at the publication on his own part.]

having power to excommunicate, and a part of that Eldership to be of necessity certain chosen out from amongst the laity for that purpose. In which disputation they have, as to me it seemeth, divided very equally the truth between them; Beza most truly maintaining the necessity of excommunication, Erastus as truly the non-necessity of lay elders to be ministers thereof.

[10.] Amongst ourselves, there was in King Edward's days some question moved by reason of a few men's scrupulosity¹ touching certain things. And beyond seas, of them which fled in the days of Queen Mary, some contenting themselves abroad with the use of their own service-book at home authorized before their departure out of the realm, others liking better the Common Prayer-book of the Church of Geneva translated, those smaller contentions before begun were by this mean somewhat increased². Under the happy reign of her Majesty which now is, the greatest matter a while contended for was the wearing of the cap and surplice³, till there came Admonitions⁴ directed unto the high court of Parliament, by men who concealing their names thought it

¹ [See Strype, Cranm. I. 302-309. Mem. II. i. 350-354. Burnet, Reform. II. 252. H. 309-351. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. II. 437-440.]

² [See Strype, Grind. 13-16. Mem. II. 404-411. Burnet II. 612, and especially "Troubles at Frankfort," (of which book, vid. Strype, An. II. i. 482.) in Phœnix II. 44, &c.]

³ [In the convocation of 1562, about half of the lower house were for concession in these and one or two other points. (Strype, Ann. I. i. 499-506.) In 1564, complaints having been made from different quarters of positive molestation given by the nonconformists, Archbishop Parker endeavoured to enforce conformity, but was checked by the interest of the Puritans with Lord Leicester; so that he could not obtain the royal sanction for the "Advertisements" then issued. (Str. Parker, I. 300-345. Ann. I. ii. 125-175.) until the following year; when they occasioned several deprivations in the

diocese of London. (Parker I. 420-460. Grind. 142-146.) In 1567 this had led to the establishment of convensicles, (Parker I. 478. Grind. 168.) and more extensive reform began to be talked of. (Ann. I. ii. 349.) especially in 1570, at Cambridge, which caused Cartwright's expulsion (ibid. 372.) In 1571, a bill of alterations was proposed in parliament, which occasioning the Queen's interferences, had the effect, as it should seem, of preventing the adoption of the "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum," which the archbishop at the time had thought of. (Ann. II. i. 93-99. P. II. 62-65.)

⁴ [The rejection of Mr. Strickland's bill above mentioned, by the parliament of 1571, led to the immediate publication of the first "Admonition to the Parliament." It was so eagerly read, that it went through four editions before the end of 1572, (Parker II. 110.) in which year Field and Wilson were imprisoned for it. (Ann. II. i. 274. Parker II. 139.)]

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glory enough to discover their minds and affections, which now were universally bent even against all the orders and laws, wherein this church is found unconformable to the platform of Geneva¹. Concerning the Defender² of which Admonitions, all that I mean to say is but this: *there will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekness shall receive a far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit.* But the manner of men's writing must not alienate our hearts from the truth, if it appear they have the truth; as the followers of the same defender do think he hath; and in that persuasion they follow him, no otherwise than himself doth Calvin, Beza, and others, with the like persuasion that they in this cause had the truth. We being as fully persuaded otherwise, it resteth that some kind of trial be used to find out which part is in error.

¹ Bishop Cooper, Adm. to the People of England, p. 106, takes the following view of the gradual advance of Puritanism. "At the beginning, some learned and godly preachers, for private respects in themselves, made strange to wear the surplice, cap, or tippet; but yet so that they declared themselves to think the thing indifferent, and not to judge evil of such as did use them." [He seems to mean Grindal, Sandys, Parkhurst, Nowel, and others, 1562.] "Shertly after rose up others," (Sampson, Humfrey, Lever, Whittingham, &c.) "defending that they were not things indifferent, but distained with antichristian idolatry, and therefore not to be suffered in the Church. Not long after came another sort." (Cartwright, Travers, Field, &c.) "affirming that these matters touching apparel were but trifles, and not worthy contention in the Church, but that there were greater things far of more weight and importance, and indeed touching faith and religion, and therefore meet to be altered in a church rightly reformed. As the Book of Common Prayer, the administration of the Sacraments, the government of the

Church, the election of ministers, and a number of other like. Fourthly, now break out another sort," (the Brownists,) "earnestly affirming, and teaching, that we have no church, no bishops, no ministers, no sacraments; and therefore that all that love Jesus Christ ought with all speed to separate themselves from our congregations, because our assemblies are profane, wicked, and antichristian. Thus have you heard of four degrees for the overthrow of the state of the Church of England. Now lastly of all come in these men, that make their whole direction against the living of bishops and other ecclesiastical ministers: that they should have no temporal lands or jurisdiction." [Cf. Bacon on Church Controversies, (1589), Spedding Life, &c. i. 86.] 1886.

² Thomas Cartwright. Whiggist's Answer to the Admonition was sent to Parker, Oct. 21, 1572, (Ser. Whigg. i. 86.) and replied to by T. C. early the next year. For Whiggist was far advanced in his Defence, June 4, 1573; (Park. II. 214.) and it was sent to Lord Burghley, 5 Feb. 1572, Cartwright's 2d Reply came out in two portions, 1575 and 1577.]

yield to be followers of him for his place sake and office over them. Which thing, though in itself most true, is in your defence notwithstanding weak; because the matter wherein ye think that ye see, and imagine that your ways are sincere, is of far deeper consideration than any one amongst five hundred of you conceiveth. Let the vulgar sort amongst you know, that there is not the least branch of the cause wherein they are so resolute, but to the trial of it a great deal more appertaineth than their conceit doth reach unto. I write not this in disgrace of the simplest that way given, but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cause wherein they think themselves thoroughly instructed and are not; by means whereof they daily run themselves, without feeling their own hazard, upon the dint of the Apostle's sentence against "evil-speakers as touching things wherein they are ignorant".¹

[4.] If it be granted a thing unlawful for private men, not called unto public consultation, to dispute which is the best state of civil polity², (with a desire of bringing in some other kind, than that under which they already live, for of such disputes I take it his meaning was;) if it be a thing confessed, that of such questions they cannot determine without rashness, inasmuch as a great part of them consisteth in special circumstances, and for one kind as many reasons may be brought as for another; is there any reason in the world, why they should better judge what kind of regiment ecclesiastical is the fittest? For in the civil state more insight, and in those affairs more experience a great deal must needs be granted them, than in this they can possibly have. When they which write in defence of your discipline and commend it unto the Highest not in the least cunning manner, are forced notwithstanding to acknowledge, "that with whom the truth is they know not"³, they are not certain; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude have thereof?

¹ Jude 10; 2 Pet. 2. 12. ² *bus de constituenda re aliquis pub-*
³ Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. xx. ³ *loci deliberare non licet.*
 § 8. [*Sane valde otiosum esset,* ⁴ The Author of the Petition
quo potissimum sit politice in eo directed to her Majesty, p. 5. [*I*
quo vivunt loco futurus status, a ⁵ do not now write either to pull
privatis hominibus disputari: qui- ⁵ down bishops, or erect presby-
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[5.] Weigh what doth move the common sort so much to favour this innovation, and it shall soon appear unto you, that the force of particular reasons which for your several opinions are alleged is a thing whereof the multitude never did nor could so consider as to be therewith wholly carried; but certain general inducements are used to make saleable your cause in gross; and when once men have cast a fancy towards it, any slight declaration of specialties will serve to lead forward men's inclinable and prepared minds.

[6.] The method of winning the people's affection unto a general liking of "the cause" (for so ye term it) hath been this. First, In the hearing of the multitude, the faults especially of higher callings are ripped up with marvellous exceeding severity and sharpness of reproof¹; which being oftentimes done begetteth a great good opinion of integrity, zeal, and holiness, to such constant reprovers of sin, as by likelihood would never be so much offended at that which is evil, unless themselves were singularly good.

[7.] The next thing hereunto is, to impute all faults and corruptions, wherewith the world aboundeth, unto the kind of ecclesiastical government established². Wherein, as before

¹series. With whom the truth is I
"will not determine, for I know not.
"What seemeth most probable and
"true to me, that I know. How
"the truth should come to light,
"that is the question." This writer
was Penry. *Bancr. Surv.* 342.]
²["A certain writer for reform-
"ation . . . writeth of noblemen
"and gentlemen . . . 'Whereof
"came,' saith he, 'this division of
"such personages from others, see-
"ing all men came of one man and
"one woman? Was it for their
"lustie hawking and hunting? for
"their nimble dicing, and cunning
"carding? for their singing and
"dancing? for their open bragging
"and swearing? for their subtle
"killing and stealing? for their
"cruel polling and pilling, &c. No,
"no, there was no such thing."
"You would be glad then, I am
"sure, to know what thing it was:
"indeed the same author doth not
"conceal it: in effect it is (though
"it be delivered in better words)
"viz. that their rebellion and
"treason against their governors
"procured them that prerogative
"with the people: 'Because,' saith
"he, 'they revenged and deli-
"vered the oppressed people out
"of the hands of their governors
"who abused their authority, and
"wickedly, cruelly, and tyrannous-
"ly ruled over them; the people
"of a grateful and thankful mind
"gave them that estimation and
"honour.'" *Bancr. Surv.* p. 7,
quoting "A Treatise of Obedience,"
p. 114, of which treatise, see Strype,
An. L. i. 182, 185. It was written
by Ch. Goodman against Q. Mary,
and published at Geneva, 1538,
with a commendatory preface by
Whittingham.]
³["The necessity of the thing
"is many ways apparent, both in
"that it hath so plentiful warrant
"from God's own word . . . and

by reproving faults they purchased unto themselves with the multitude a name to be virtuous ; so by finding out this kind of cause they obtain to be judged wise above others ; whereas in truth unto the form even of Jewish government, which the Lord himself (they all confess) did establish, with like shew of reason they might impute those faults which the prophets condemn in the governors of that commonwealth, as to the English kind of regiment ecclesiastical, (whereof also God himself though in other sort is author,) the stains and blemishes found in our state ; which springing from the root of human frailty and corruption, not only are, but have been always more or less, yea and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the world's end complained of, what form of government soever take place.

[8.] Having gotten thus much sway in the hearts of men, a third step is to propose their own form of church-government, as the only sovereign remedy of all evils ; and to adorn it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that have sick bodies, so likewise of the people in the crazedness of their minds possessed with dislike and discontentment at things present, is to imagine that any thing, (the virtue whereof they hear commended,) would help them ; but that most, which they least have tried.

[9.] The fourth degree of inducement is by fashioning the very notions and conceits of men's minds in such sort, that when they read the scripture, they may think that every thing soundeth towards the advancement of that discipline, and to the utter disgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing up his scholars in the speculative knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therein so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things natural, they imagined that in every particular thing they even beheld as it were with their eyes, how the elements of number gave essence and being to the works of nature. A thing in reason impossible ; which notwithstanding, through their misfashioned

"also in that the gospel can take no
"root, nor have any free passage,
"for want of it ; and the greatness
"of your faults appeareth by this ;
"that in so doing you are the cause
"of all the ignorance, atheism,
"schisms, treasons, popery, and
"ungodliness, that is to be found
"in this land." Pref. to Demonstr.
of Discipline.]

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preconceit, appeared unto them no less certain, than if nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the creatures of God¹. When they of the "Family of Love" have it once in their heads, that Christ doth not signify any one person, but a quality whereof many are partakers; that to be "raised" is nothing else but to be regenerated, or endued with the said quality; and that when separation of them which have it from them which have it not is here made, this is "judgment;" how plainly do they imagine that the Scripture every where speaketh in the favour of that sect?² And assuredly, the very

¹ Arist. *Metaph. Eth. i. cap. 5.*
² "It is no hard thing for a man that hath wit, and is strongly possessor of an opinion, and resolute to maintain it, to find some places of scripture, which by good handling will be woed to cast a favourable countenance upon it. Pythagoras' Schollers having been bred up in the doctrine of numbers, when afterward they diverted upon the studies of nature, fancied as themselves somewhat in natural bodies like unto numbers, and thereupon fell into a conceit that numbers were the principles of them. So fares it with him that is free-possent with some opinion." *Hales's Golden Remains, p. 4, ed. 1648.* See *Ding. Larri. lib. viii. p. 220.* ed. Pearson; *Brucker, Hist. Phil. I. 1045, &c.*
³ [The Family of Love, or Familists, as they are sometimes called, originated with Henry Nicholas of Amsterdam, and afterwards of Embden, about the middle of the 16th century; and may be considered as a kind of offshoot from the German Anabaptists. For their progress in England see *Strype, Ann. II. i. 526, ii. 282.* Grindal, 383, Whitg. i. 431, III. 158. Christopher Virel, a joiner of Colchester, was one of their chief propagandists here. See "The displaying of an horrible sect of gross and wicked heretics, naming themselves the Family of Love: with the lives of the authors, &c. by J. R." (John Rogers.) "1178, London." This

writer says that H. N. had then as many as 1000 followers in England. From the number of their tracts, (he quotes about a dozen,) and from the attention which they appear to have attracted at the time, he would seem to have much underrated their numbers. Virel replied to this pamphlet, and Rogers rejoined in 1579. (Both his pamphlets are in Bp. Atterbury's collection, in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, F. 532, 525.) The same year an elaborate and scholastike "Confutation of certain monstrous and horrible heresies taught by H. N." was published by J. Kewstude, of Cambridge, afterwards one of the representatives of the Puritan party at the Hampton-court conference. He states, p. 37, "By the doctrine of H. N. Christ is no one man, but an estate and condition in man, common unto so many as have [so] received his doctrine that they are grown thereby to perfection." And, p. 36, "H. N. his Christ is not God, but an affection or disposition in man, which, if it were good, were yet no more but godliness, not God himself." Which statements he abundantly confirms by quotations from various tracts, but refers to one which he had not seen, as being reported to contain the fullest development of the new doctrine. That work is "An Introduction to the holy understanding of the Glass of Righteousness; set forth by H. N." No printer's name nor date is given. The following passage may be taken

cause which maketh the simple and ignorant to think they even see how the word of God runneth currently on your side, is, that their minds are forestalled and their conceits perverted beforehand, by being taught, that an "elder" doth signify a layman admitted only to the office or rule of government in the Church; a "doctor," one which may only teach, and neither preach nor administer the Sacraments; a "deacon," one which hath charge of the alms-box, and of nothing else: that the "sceptre," the "rod," the "throne" and "kingdom" of Christ, are a form of regiment, only by pastors, elders, doctors,

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as a fair specimen of it. (c. 5. No. 28.)
 "Behold, this same holy being of
 "God is the true life of the Holy
 "Ghost, which heretofore God
 "wrought among his people Israel,
 "and likewise among the Gentiles
 "that feared his name. . . . 29. This
 "same being of God is indeed the
 "right food of the soul, and bread of
 "life, and is descended unto us from
 "heaven for a life to the man; and
 "was heretofore broken and distri-
 "buted to the people of Israel and the
 "disciples of Christ, to feed on in
 "their souls. . . . 31. This same bread
 "which is given unto them is the
 "true meat offering of Christ, vii.
 "His Body; and this cup which
 "is poured forth unto them is the
 "true shedding of His Blood, the
 "which is the anointing of the Holy
 "word or Spirit of Christ, upon all
 "believers of Christ, to everlasting
 "life. . . . 33. Behold, that same bread
 "or Body of Christ is the Word that
 "became flesh and it dwelt among
 "them. . . . 34. And the same is the
 "New Testament, which God in
 "those days made and appointed
 "with His people." Compare c. 18,
 "No. 16, &c. And c. 22, 30. "Unto
 "all that believed was the resur-
 "rection from the dead, and ever-
 "lasting life, witnessed and pro-
 "mised through Jesus Christ. In
 "sure and firm hope whereof the
 "upright believers have rested in
 "the Lord Jesus Christ, till the
 "appearing of His coming, which
 "is now, in this day of the Lord,
 "revealed, out of the heavenly Being.

"With which Jesus Christ the
 "former believers of Christ, who
 "were fallen asleep, rested, or died
 "in Him, are now also manifested
 "in glory. For Christ in the ap-
 "pearing of his coming raised
 "his deceased from the dead, to the
 "intent they should reign with Him
 "over all his enemies, and confound
 "all the ungodly who have not
 "liked of him."
 "I remember," (says Strype, Ann.
 "II. i. 561, writing in 1725,) "a
 "great admirer of this sect, within
 "less than twenty years ago, told
 "me, that there was then but one
 "of the Family of Love alive, and
 "he an old man." But their prin-
 "ciples, unfortunately, were not ex-
 "tinct. "I have now before me the
 "works (or part of them) of Henry
 "Nicholas, the Father of the Family
 "of Love: they were given to a
 "friend of mine by a Quaker, with
 "this encomium: that he believed
 "he would not find one word amiss,
 "or one superfluous, in the whole
 "book, and commended it, as an
 "excellent piece. It is not un-
 "likely that he took it for a Quaker
 "book; for there is not his name
 "at length, only H. N. to it; and
 "it has quite through the Quaker
 "phys and mien, that twins are
 "not more alike. And though he
 "directs it, To the Family of Love,
 "yet an ignorant Quaker might
 "take that for his own family, and
 "apply it to the Quakers." Leslie's
 "Works, II. 609, ed. 1721.]

Preface,
Ch. iii. 14.
and deacons¹; that by mystical resemblance Mount Zion and Jerusalem are the churches which admit, Samaria and Babylon the churches which oppugn the said form of regiment. And in like sort they are taught to apply all things spoken of repairing the walls and decayed parts of the city and temple of God, by Esdras, Nehemias, and the rest²; as if purposely the Holy Ghost had therein meant to foreshew, what the authors of Admonitions to the Parliament, of Supplications to the Council, of Petitions to her Majesty, and of such other like writs, should either do or suffer in behalf of this their cause.

[10.] From hence they proceed to an higher point, which is the persuading of men credulous and over-capable of such pleasing errors, that it is the special illumination of the Holy Ghost, whereby they discern those things in the word, which others reading yet discern them not. "Dearly beloved," saith St. John, "give not credit unto every spirit³." There are but two ways whereby the Spirit leadeth men into all truth; the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but unto some few, the other extending itself unto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a special divine excellency Revelation, the other Reason. If the Spirit by such revelation have discovered unto them the secrets of that discipline out of Scripture, they must profess themselves to be all (even men, women, and children) Prophets. Or if reason be the hand which the Spirit hath led them by; forasmuch as persuasions grounded upon reason are either weaker or stronger according to the force of those reasons whereupon the same are grounded, they must every of them from the greatest to the least be able for every several article to shew

¹ [Having occasion to talk
"upon a time with an artisan of
"Kingston, about his refusal, after
"the purest fashion, to be examined
"upon his oath, because I saw how
"peart he was, and rapt out text
"upon text (full ignorantly, God
"knoweth,) I was so bold as to
"examine him in the second peti-
"tion of the Lord's Prayer, de-
"manding of him, what he thought
"was meant by this word, 'king-
"dom,' therein mentioned. Where-
"unto he made in effect this

"answer, without any staggering:
" 'We say,' saith he, 'that our hea-
" venly Father would at the last
" grant unto us, that we might
" have pastors, doctors, elders, and
" deacons in every parish, and so
" be governed by such elderships as
" Christ's holy discipline doth re-
" quire.'" Bancroft, Survey, &c.
c. 31.]
² [C. Preface to 2d Reply, fol.
l. 2.]
³ 1 John iv. 1.

some special reason as strong as their persuasion therein is earnest. Otherwise how can it be but that some other sinews ^{Profuse,} there are from which that overplus of strength in persuasion ^{Ch. ii. vi, 14.} doth arise? Most sure it is, that when men's affections do frame their opinions, they are in defence of error more earnest a great deal, than (for the most part) sound believers in the maintenance of truth apprehended according to the nature of that evidence which scripture yieldeth: which being in some things plain, as in the principles of Christian doctrine; in some things, as in these matters of discipline, more dark and doubtful; frameth correspondently that inward assent which God's most gracious Spirit worketh by it as by his effectual instrument. It is not therefore the fervent earnestness of their persuasion, but the soundness of those reasons whereupon the same is built, which must declare their opinions in these things to have been wrought by the Holy Ghost, and not by the fraud of that evil spirit, which is even in his illusions strong¹.

[11.] After that the fancy of the common sort hath once thoroughly apprehended the Spirit to be author of their persuasion concerning discipline; then is instilled into their hearts, that the same Spirit leading men into this opinion doth thereby seal them to be God's children; and that, as the state of the times now standeth, the most special token to know them that are God's own from others is an earnest affection that way. This hath bred high terms of separation between such and the rest of the world; whereby the one sort are named The brethren, The godly, and so forth; the other, worldlings, time-servers, pleasers of men not of God, with such like².

[12.] From hence, they are easily drawn on to think it exceeding necessary, for fear of quenching that good Spirit, to use all means whereby the same may be both strengthened in themselves, and made manifest unto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of such as are known that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and to seek all

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 11.

² [The 22d art. of Charge against Cartwright in 1590 is, "That from time to time, since his abode in Warwick, by his practices and dealing, he hath nourished a faction, and heartburning of one inhabit-

"ant there against another, severing them in his own and his followers speeches, by the names of *The godly*, or *brethren favouring sincerely*, and *The profane*." Fuller, C. H. b. ix. p. 200.]

Preface
Ch. iii. 13

occasions of secret conference with such; this maketh them glad to use such as counsellors and directors in all their dealings which are of weight, as contracts, testaments, and the like; this maketh them, through an unweariable desire of receiving instruction from the masters of that company, to cast off the care of those very affairs which do most concern their estate, and to think that then they are like unto Mary, commendable for making choice of the better part. Finally, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea, oftentimes even to overcharge themselves, for such men's sustenance and relief, lest their zeal to the cause should any way be unwitnessed. For what is it which poor beguiled souls will not do through so powerful incitements?

[13.] In which respect it is also noted, that most labour hath been bestowed to win and retain towards this cause them whose judgments are commonly weakest by reason of their sex¹. And although not "women laden with sins¹," as

¹ [For example: a copy of the has the following lines in MS. Admonition to the Parliament, in the in the blank leaf at the beginning of Christ Church, Oxford, sing:]

To Mrs. Cassebie my very friends.
Read and peruse this litle booke
with prayer to the Lorde
That all may yelde that therein looke
to truthe with one accorde.
Whiche thoughte our troubles it hathe wrought
it shall prevaile at laste,
And witerly confounde Gods foes
with his confoundinge blaste.
As Pope hath false, so muste all popes
and popelings every one.
So muste his lawes whereby he ruide,
and Gods worde stand alone.
Whiche is the scepter of the might
of Chryste our Lorde and Kyng,
To whiche we must subject of right
ourselves, and every thing.

Yo^m in the Lorde,
Io. Feilde.

Field is mentioned by Archb. Bancroft (Survey, &c. p. 42) as one of the first planners of the Admonition. He was imprisoned the year it came out (1576) according to Strype, (Ann. ii. l. 275.) for presenting a copy of it to the parliament. Bishop Sandys complained that when Field was in Newgate the people resorted to him "as in popery they were wont

"to run on pilgrimage." (Strype, Parker, ii. 268.) He was a leader of the secret Puritan synod in 1580: and is constantly mentioned as one of the most busy and important among them.

See also Clarendon's Hist. of the Rev. i. 177, Oxford, 1819.

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 6.

the apostle Saint Paul speaketh, but (as we verily esteem of them for the most part) women propense and inclinable to holiness be otherwise edified in good things, rather than carried away as captives into any kind of sin and evil by such as enter into their houses, with purpose to plant there a zeal and a love towards this kind of discipline: yet some occasion is hereby ministered for men to think, that if the cause which is thus furthered did gain by the soundness of proof whereupon it doth build itself, it would not most busily endeavour to prevail where least ability of judgment is: and therefore, that this so eminent industry in making proselytes more of that sex than of the other groweth, for that they are deemed apter to serve as instruments and helps in the cause. After they are through the eagerness of their affection, that maketh them, which way soever they take, diligent in drawing their husbands, children, servants, friends and allies the same way; after through that natural inclination unto pity, which breedeth in them a greater readiness than in men to be bountiful towards their preachers who suffer want; after through sundry opportunities, which they especially have, to procure encouragements for their brethren; finally, after through a singular delight which they take in giving very large and particular intelligence, how all near about them stand affected as concerning the same cause.

[14.] But be they women or be they men, if once they have tasted of that cup, let any man of contrary opinion open his mouth to persuade them, they close up their ears, his reasons they weigh not, all is answered with rehearsal of the words of John, "We are of God; he that knoweth God heareth us¹;" "as for the rest, ye are of the world; for this world's pomp and vanity it is that ye speak, and the world, whose ye are, heareth you." Which cloak sitteth no less fit on the back of their cause, than of the Anabaptists, when the dignity, authority and honour of God's magistrate is upheld against them. Shew these eagerly-affected men their inability to judge of such matters; their answer is, "God hath chosen the simple²." Convince them of folly, and that so plainly, that very children upbraid them with it; they have their bucklers

¹ 1 John iv. 6.

² 1 Cor. i. 27.

Preface,
Ch. II. 15

of like defence: "Christ's own apostle was accounted mad: the best men evermore by the sentence of the world have been judged to be out of their right minds".

[15.] When instruction doth them no good, let them feel but the least degree of most mercifully-tempered severity, they fasten on the head of the Lord's viceregerents here on earth whatsoever they any where find uttererents against the cruelty of bloodthirsty men, and to themselves they draw all the sentences which scripture hath in the favour of innocency persecuted for the truth; yea, they are of their due and deserved sufferings no less proud, than those ancient disturbers to whom Saint Augustine writeth, saying: "Martyrs rightly so named are they not which suffer for their disorder, and for the ungodly breach they have made of Christian unity, but which for righteousness' sake are persecuted. For Agar also suffered persecution at the hands of Sara, wherein, she which did impose was holy, and she unrighteous which did bear the burden. In like sort, with thieves was the Lord himself crucified; but they, who were matched in the pain which they suffered, were in the cause of their sufferings disjoined". "If that must needs be the true church which doth endure persecution,

¹ Acts xxvi. 24. Sap. v. 4. "We fools thought his life madness." Merc. Tris. ad Alcibiad. [lib. xv. fol. 43.] Οὐ γὰρ γινώσκου ἄνευ οὐδὲν τοῦτο εὐσεβείᾳ ἀποκρίσας, ἀλλὰ ἐν πολλοῖς εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀσπίδι, καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ ἀφροσύνης. Vide Lactant. de Justit. lib. v. cap. 16.

² [This was written before either of the executions which took place in Queen Elizabeth's reign for disturbances on puritanical grounds. For Hooker's book was sent to Lord Burghley, March 13, 1592, (Strype, Whig. III. 300.) Barrow and Greenwood were condemned, March 23, (ibid. II. 186.) Pezry in May (ib. 176.) Udall who had been convicted was pardoned, at Whitgift's intercession, June 1592, (ib. 102.)]

³ Aug. Ep. 50. [ad. 185.] § 9. 4. II. 64f. "Veri martyres illi sunt, de quibus Dominus ait, Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam. Non ergo qui propter

"iniquitatem, et propter Christianam unitatis ipsam divisionem, sed qui propter justitiam persecutionem patiuntur, hi martyres veri sunt. Nam et Agar passa est persecutionem a Sara, et illa erat sancta que faciebat, illa iniqua que patiebatur. Et ipse Dominus cum latro-ribus crucifixus est: sed quos passio iungebat, causa separabat." [Ibid. § 11. "Si Ecclesia vera ipsa est, que persecutionem patitur, non que facit; querant ab Apostolo, quam Ecclesiam significabat Sara, quando persecutionem faciebat ancillae. Liberam quippe matrem nostram, coelestem Jerusalem, id est veram Dei Ecclesiam, in illa muliere dicit fuisse figuratam, que alligabat ancillam. Si autem melius discutamus, magis illa persequebatur Saram super-bendo, quam illam Sara coer-cendo."]

"and not that which persecuteth, let them ask of the apostle
 "what church Sara did represent, when she held her maid
 "in affliction. For even our mother which is free, the
 "heavenly Jerusalem, that is to say, the true Church of God,
 "was, as he doth affirm, prefigured in that very woman by
 "whom the bondmaid was so sharply handled. Although, if
 "all things be thoroughly scanned, she did in truth more
 "persecute Sara by proud resistance, than Sara her by
 "severity of punishment."

Prolog.
Ch. iii. 16

[15.] These are the paths wherein ye have walked that are
 of the ordinary sort of men; these are the very steps ye have
 trodden, and the manifest degrees whereby ye are of your
 guides and directors trained up in that school: a custom of
 inuring your ears with reproof of faults especially in your
 governors; an use to attribute those faults to the kind of
 spiritual regiment under which ye live; boldness in warrant-
 ing the force of their discipline for the cure of all such evils;
 a slight of framing your conceits to imagine that Scripture
 every where favoureth that discipline; persuasion that the
 cause why ye find it in Scripture is the illumination of the
 Spirit, that the same Spirit is a seal unto you of your near-
 ness unto God, that ye are by all means to nourish and wit-
 ness it in yourselves, and to strengthen on every side your
 minds against whatsoever might be of force to withdraw you
 from it.

IV. Wherefore to come unto you whose judgment is a
 lantern of direction for all the rest, you that frame thus the
 people's hearts, not altogether (as I willingly persuade my-
 self) of a politic intent or purpose, but yourselves being first
 overborne with the weight of greater men's judgments
 on your shoulders is laid the burden of upholding the cause
 by argument. For which purpose sentences out of the word
 of God ye allege divers: but so, that when the same are
 discussed, thus it always in a manner falleth out, that what
 things by virtue thereof ye urge upon us as altogether neces-
 sary, are found to be thence collected only by poor and
 marvellous slight conjectures. I need not give instance in
 any one sentence so alleged, for that I think the instance in
 any alleged otherwise a thing not easy to be given. A very
 strange thing sure it were, that such a discipline as ye speak

*What hath
 caused so
 many of the
 learned
 sort to ap-
 prove the
 same disci-
 pline.*

of should be taught by Christ and his apostles in the word of God, and no church ever have found it out, nor received it till this present time¹; contrariwise, the government against which ye bend yourselves be observed every where throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no church ever perceiving the word of God to be against it. We require you to find out but one church upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by episcopal regiment, sithence the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant.

[2.] Many things out of antiquity ye bring, as if the purest times of the Church had observed the selfsame orders which you require; and as though your desire were that the churches of old should be patterns for us to follow, and even glasses, wherein we might see the practice of that which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, ye mean nothing less. All this is done for fashion's sake only: for ye complain of it as of an injury, that men should be willed to seek for examples and patterns of government in any of those times that have been before². Ye plainly hold, that from the very Apostles' time till this present age, wherein yourselves imagine ye have found out a right pattern of sound discipline, there never was any time safe to be followed. Which thing ye thus endeavour to prove. "Out of Egesippus" ye say that "Eusebius" writeth, "how although as long as the Apostles lived the Church did remain a pure

¹ [Bancroft, Sermon at S. Paul's Cross, 9 Feb. 1584, p. 10, 11, has the same affirmation and challenge almost in the same words. "A very strange matter if it were true, that Christ should erect a firm of government for the ruling of his Church, to continue from his departure out of the world until his coming again; and that the same should never be once thought of or put in practice for the space of 1500 years: or at the least (to take them at their best) that the government and kingdom of Christ should then be overthrown, when by all men's confessions the divinity of his Person, the virtue of his Priest-

hood, the power of his office as He is a Prophet, and the honour of his kingly Authority was so godly, so learnedly, and so mightily established." T. C. lib. i. p. 97. [Id. ibid. and ii. 507-511.] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 22. iv. 22. Ὅ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔστη ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἧσιν οὐκ ἐγένετο διακοσμία διακονία τοῦ κυρίου, ἢ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπέσειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ τὸ κράτος καὶ τὸν βασίλειον. And in b. iv. 22, he cites the very words of Hegesippus, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔστη ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ



"virgin, yet after the death of the Apostles, and after they
 "were once gone whom God vouchsafed to make hearers of
 "the divine wisdom with their own ears, the placing of
 "wicked error began to come into the Church. Clement
 "also in a certain place, to confirm that there was corruption
 "of doctrine immediately after the Apostles' time, allegeth
 "the proverb, that 'There are few sons like their fathers'.
 "Socrates saith of the churches of Rome and Alexandria',
 "the most famous churches in the Apostles' times, that about
 "the year 430, the Roman and Alexandrian bishops, leaving
 "the sacred function, were degenerate to a secular rule or
 "dominion". Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not safe to
 fetch our government from any other than the Apostles'
 times.

[3.] Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in proposing
 the Apostles' times as a pattern for the Church to follow,
 though the desire of you all be one, the drift and purpose of
 you all is not one. The chiefest thing which lay-reformers
 yawn for is, that the clergy may through conformity in state
 and condition be apostolical, poor as the Apostles of Christ
 were poor. In which one circumstance if they imagine so
 great perfection, they must think that Church which hath
 such store of mendicant Friars, a church in that respect most
 happy. Were it for the glory of God and the good of his
 Church indeed that the clergy should be left even as bare as
 the Apostles when they had neither staff nor scrip, that God,
 which should lay upon them the condition of his Apostles,
 would I hope endue them with the selfsame affection which
 was in that holy Apostle, whose words concerning his own
 right virtuous contentment of heart, "as well how to want,
 "as how to abound", are a most fit episcopal emprise.
 The Church of Christ is a body mystical. A body cannot
 stand, unless the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it
 therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the

*ἄνωγ' ἄνω γὰρ ἰσθῆτες δευσι ἀν-
 αλωσι.* See Dr. Roush's note, Re-
 liquis Sacra, l. 233.]
 Lib. Strom, somewhat after the
 beginning. [Ed. Potter, t. i. 322.]
 [Ὀλίγω, ἢ ἄ ἐν ἁπλοῦσι ἄνωσι; from
 Hom. Od. li. 276.]

⁴ Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 11.
⁵ [The *ἁπλοῦσι* *δευσι*, *ἀνωσι*
 ἢ *ἀνελπίστοι*, ἢ *ἐν τῷ ἁπλοῦσι*,
 ἢ *ἀνελπίστοι* ἢ *ἐν τῷ ἁπλοῦσι*.]
⁶ Phil. iv. 12. [For the word *em-
 prise* or *impres* see Shakespeare,
 Rich. II. act III. sc. 1.]



Preface,
Ch. 10. 4.
clergy, to be in meanness of state like the Apostles; at the hands of the laity, to be as they were who lived under the Apostles: and in this reformation there will be, though little wisdom, yet some indifferency.

[4.] But your reformation which are of the clergy (if yet it displease you not that I should say ye are of the clergy¹) seemeth to aim at a broader mark. Ye think that he which will perfectly reform must bring the form of church-discipline unto the state which then it was at. A thing neither possible, nor certain, nor absolutely convenient.

Concerning the first, what was used in the Apostles' times, the Scripture fully declareth not; so that making their times the rule and canon of church-polity, ye make a rule, which being not possible to be fully known, is as impossible to be kept.

Again, sith the later even of the Apostles' own times had that which in the former was not thought upon; in this general proposing of the apostolical times, there is no certainty which should be followed: especially seeing that ye give us great cause to doubt how far ye allow those times¹. For albeit "the loover of antichristian building were not," ye say, as then "set up, yet the foundations thereof were "secretly and under the ground laid in the Apostles' times²:" so that all other times ye plainly reject, and the Apostles' own times ye approve with marvellous great suspicion, leav-

¹ [T. C. iii. 219. "Those which were baptiz'd in their beds were thereby made unapt to have any place among the clergy (*ut they call them*)."]
² [Freny, Brief Discovery, &c. p. 20. "We know Diotrephes to have been in the Church even in the Apostles' times.... and therefore we cannot greatly marvel, though even in their time there had been a divers government from this of the Lord's appointment, which we labour for. For even in the Apostles' time the mystery of iniquity began to work."] ³ [T. C. L. 92. The word "loover" is also used, T. C. ii. 621. "How childlike is yt, after so long travell to prove a bishop over the ministers off a diocese,.... in the ende to endeavour to prove, that there may be superstitie? as if any man would deny this that granted the other; and yt is *in sit the foundation upon the loover.*"
⁴ *Loover*, (from *l'ouvert*, Fr. an opening;) an opening for the smoke to go out at in the roof of a cottage: in the north of England, an opening at the top of a dovecote. "The ancient manner of building in Cornwall was, to set hearths in the midst of rooms for chimneys, which vented the smoke at a loover in the top." Carew, Survey of Cornwall: And see Spenser's F. Q. vi. x. 42.² Todd's Johnson's Dict.]

ing it intricate and doubtful, wherein we are to keep ourselves unto the pattern of their times.

Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude to consider only what hath been of old, and if the same were well, to see whether still it continue; if not, to condemn that presently which is, and never to search upon what ground or consideration the change might grow: such rudeness cannot be in you so well borne with, whom learning and judgment hath enabled much more soundly to discern how far the times of the Church and the orders thereof may alter without offence. True it is, the ancients¹, the better ceremonies of religion are; howbeit, not absolutely true and without exception: but true only so far forth as those different ages do agree in the state of those things, for which at the first those rites, orders, and ceremonies, were instituted. In the Apostles' times that was harmless, which being now revived would be scandalous; as their *scicula sanctorum*². Those feasts of charity³, which being instituted by the Apostles, were retained in the Church long after, are not now thought any where needful. What man

Profruct. Ch. vi. a

¹ Antiquitas ceremoniarum atque fanis tantum sanctitatis tribuere consuevit, quantum adstraxerit vetustatis." Atrio, p. 746. [The words are from Minutius Felix, p. 4, line 30, ed. Elmenhorst. In many former editions, and no doubt in that which Hooker used, the dialogue of Minutius is ascribed to Arnobius.]
² Rom. xvi. 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26; 1 Pet. v. 14. In their meetings to serve God, their manner was, in the end to salute one another with a kiss; using these words, "Peace be with you." For which cause Tertullian doth call it, *signaculum orationis*, "the seal of prayer." Lib. de Orat. (c. 14.)
³ Epist. Jud. 12. Concerning which feast, Saint Chrysostom saith, "Statis diebus mensas faciebant communes, et peracta synaxi post sacramentorum communionem inebant convivium, divitiibus quidem cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem et qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis." [Καθήμεν ἐν τῷ ἑστῶτι,

ἡλικίᾳ τῶν ἐξ ἁγίου προσεδέσαν, κοινῶν μέσων ἐστρωμένοι καὶ κοινῶν μέσων ἐσθρῶτες, οὐκ ἄν τις ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐπιμαρτυροῖ Ἄνδριανὸν ἑπίσκοπον, εἰς τὸ ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀγαθὸν, ἄσχετον εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν τῶν κοινῶν ἐστρωμάτων καὶ εἰς τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀσπίθου. Καὶ Ἰουδῆας συνῆσαν τοῖς πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς εἶμα, τοῖς δὲ ὑποκόμιον, τὰ πρὸς ἐμῶν οὐ παρεδίδοντο ἡμῶν εἰς μέτρον, οὐκ εἰς ἐκτελεσθῆναι τῶν ἑστρωμάτων ἐν τῶν ἡμῶν ἀσπίθου, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῶν ἀσπίθου ἀσπίθου πρὸς τῶν ἡμῶν κοινῶν ἐστρωμάτων ἐστῶν, τῶν πρὸς ἐκτελεσθῆναι τῶν ἀσπίθου ἀσπίθου τῶν ἀσπίθου, τῶν δὲ ἀσπίθου καὶ οὐκ ἐκτελεσθῆναι τῶν ἀσπίθου ἀσπίθου καὶ οὐκ ἐκτελεσθῆναι τῶν ἀσπίθου ἀσπίθου.] In 1 Cor. xi. 17, Hom. xxvii. Of the same feast in like sort, Tertullian. "Cena nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit. Vocatur enim ὄψας, id est quod est penes Græcos *dinatio*. Quotiescumque sumptibus comest, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumptum." Apol. cap. 39.



160 Puritans' Plea from Authority of the Foreign Reformers.

Preface,
Ch. II. 5, 6

is there of understanding, unto whom it is not manifest how the way of providing for the clergy by tithes, the device of almshouses for the poor, the sorting out of the people into their several parishes, together with sundry other things which the Apostles' times could not have, (being now established,) are much more convenient and fit for the Church of Christ, than if the same should be taken away for conformity's sake with the ancientest and first times?

[5] The orders therefore, which were observed in the Apostles' times, are not to be urged as a rule universally either sufficient or necessary. If they be, nevertheless on your part it still remaineth to be better proved, that the form of discipline, which ye entitle apostolical, was in the Apostles' times exercised. For of this very thing ye fail even touching that which ye make most account of¹, as being matter of substance in discipline, I mean the power of your lay-elders, and the difference of your Doctors from the Pastors in all churches. So that in sum, we may be bold to conclude, that besides these last times, which for insolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order, are the worst, there are none wherein ye can truly affirm, that the complete form of your discipline, or the substance thereof, was practised.

[6] The evidence therefore of antiquity failing you, ye fly to the judgments of such learned men, as seem by their writings to be of opinion, that all Christian churches should receive your discipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as ye heap up the names of a number of men not unworthy to be had in honour; so there are a number whom when ye mention, although it serve you to purpose with the ignorant and vulgar sort, who measure by tale and not by weight, yet surely they who know what quality and value the men are of, will think ye draw very near the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the best and chiefest amongst them, with us notwithstanding neither are they, neither ought

¹ [“Tantum inter ceteros eminent Presbyteri isti omni dioceses, quantum lenta solent inter viburna cypressi: tantamque prestatere videntur reliqua, et ipsorum nomine” totus hic consensus Presbyterium dicatur. Quam igitur tota illa moles novae disciplinae... hoc uno fundamento nitatur... &c.” *Subditio de Presbyt.* p. 90.]

they to be of such reckoning, that their opinion or conjecture should cause the laws of the Church of England to give place. Much less when they neither do all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the most part through a courteous inducement have followed one man as their guide, finally that one therein not unlikely to have swerved¹. If any chance to say it is probable that in the Apostles' times there were lay-elders, or not to mislike the continuance of them in the Church, or to affirm that Bishops at the first were a name but not a power distinct from Presbyters, or to speak any thing in praise of those Churches which are without episcopal regiment, or to reprove the fault of such as abuse that calling; all these ye register for men persuaded as you are, that every Christian Church standeth bound by the law of God to put down Bishops, and in their rooms to elect an Eldership so authorized as you would have it for the government of each parish. Deceived greatly they are therefore, who think that all they whose names are cited amongst the favourers of this cause, are on any such verdict agreed².

[7.] Yet touching some material points of your discipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongst many divines of reformed Churches abroad. For, first, to do as the Church of Geneva did the learned in some other Churches must needs be the more willing, who having used in like manner not the slow and tedious help of proceeding by public authority, but the people's more quick endeavour for alteration, in such an exigent I see not well how they could have stayed to deliberate about any other regiment than that which already was devised to their hands, that which in like case had been taken, that which was easiest to be established without delay, that which was likeliest to content the people by reason of some kind of sway which it giveth them. When therefore the example of one Church was thus at the first almost through a kind of constraint or necessity followed by many, their concurrence in persuasion about some material points belonging to the same polity is not strange. For we are not to marvel greatly, if they which

¹ [^o Swarved—and so always in 1st ed. 1594.]
² [Full evidence of this point may be seen in Whitgift's two works.]
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have all done the same thing, do easily embrace the same opinion as concerning their own doings.

[8.] Besides, mark I beseech you that which Galen in matter of philosophy noteth¹; for the like falleth out even in questions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with men's opinions as with rumours and reports. "That which a credible person telleth is easily thought probable" by such as are well persuaded of him. But if two, or three, or four, agree all in the same tale, they judge it then to be out of controversy, and so are many times overtaken for want of due consideration; either some common cause leading them all into error, or one man's oversight deceiving many through their too much credulity and easiness of belief." Though ten persons be brought to give testimony in any cause, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witnesses, appear to have grown from some one amongst them, and to have spread itself from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one testimony. Nor is it otherwise here where the daughter churches do speak their mother's dialect; here where so many sing one song, by reason that he is the guide of the choir², concerning whose deserved authority amongst even the gravest divines we have already spoken at large. Will ye ask what should move those many learned to be followers of one man's judgment, no necessity of argument forcing them thereunto? Your demand is answered by yourselves. Loth ye are to think that they, whom ye judge to have attained as sound knowledge in all points of doctrine as any since the Apostles' time, should mistake in discipline³. Such is natu-

¹ Galen. clas. 2. lib. de cuiusque Anim. Peccat. Notitiaque Medela, [t. i. p. 366. Basil. 1538. —] οὐδὲν ψευδὲς ἀγγελοῦμαι ἑστίαι, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἕναυτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φησὶν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶναι τὸν αἰσθητικὸν νόμον ἀπορροῦντος . . . ἀπορροῦντος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου ἡ ἰατρικὴ, ἀλλὰ τοὶ διακρινόμενοι πάντες ἐπιβλέποντες αὐτῷ, ἢ ἀνιχνεύοντες αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ αἰσθητικῆς.
² [in quiete, ed. 1594.]
³ Petition to the Queen's Majesty, p. 14.—"It may be that they who have attained to as sound knowledge in all points of doctrine as any since the apostles' time should mistake in discipline. It may be that they whom the Spirit of truth and wisdom hath directed in expounding the Scriptures should be always forsaken of that Spirit when they come to expound or speak of a text concerning discipline. . . . But . . . men not partial will still make scruples in these matters."



rally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire, in them we are not persuaded willingly that any thing should be amiss. The reason whereof is, "for that "as dead flies putrify the ointment of the apothecary¹, so "a little folly him that is in estimation for wisdom²." This in every profession hath too much authorized the judgments of a few. This with Germans hath caused Luther, and with many other Churches Calvin, to prevail in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the wisdom of that God, (who setteth before us in holy Scripture so many admirable patterns of virtue, and no one of them without somewhat noted wherein they were culpable, to the end that to Him alone it might always be acknowledged, "Thou only art holy, thou only art just³;) might not permit those worthy vessels of his glory to be in some things blemished with the stain of human frailty, even for this cause, lest we should esteem of any man above that which becometh.

V. Notwithstanding, as though ye were able to say a great deal more than hitherto your books have revealed to the world, earnest challengers⁴ ye are of trial by some public disputation. Wherein if the thing ye crave be no more than only leave to dispute openly about those matters that are in question, the schools in universities (for any thing I know) are open unto you. They have their yearly

Profess.
Ch. v. s.

¹ "apothecarie," ed. 1594.] Petition to the Queen's Maj. p. 3.
² Eccles. x. 1. "There is a way devised and much
³ [In *ἁγία ἑσπερ.* Apoc. xv. 4. "commended by learned men, as a
⁴ ἡ ἁγία ἑσπερ. Apoc. xv. 4. "notable mean to compound con-
Morning Hymn in Apost. Constit. "roversies, namely, private con-
vii. 4, used by our Church in the "ferences by advised writing, not
Post-Communion.] "extemporal speaking, the question
"Would to God that free con- "agreed of. The arguments, the
"ference in these matters might be "answers, replies, and rejoinders
"had. For howsoever learned and "set down, till both parties had
"many they seeme to be, they should "fully said, all by-matters laid
"and may in this realm finde more, "aside. In fine the whole to be pub-
"to match them, and shame them "lished, that your Majesty, the
"to, if they hold on as they have "honourable counsellors and Par-
"begun." Address "to the godly "liament may judge thereof." And
"readers," prefixed to the first Pref. to Dem. of Disc. "Venture
Admonition to the Parliament, p. 2. "your bishopps upon a disputa-
See also "A View of Popish Abuses," tion, and we will venture our
subjoined to the 1st Admonition, "lives; take the challenge if you
p. 18; and 2nd Adm. p. 36; and "dare."]

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Acts and Commencements, besides other disputations both ordinary and upon occasion, wherein the several parts of our own ecclesiastical discipline are oftentimes offered unto that kind of examination; the learnedest of you have been of late years noted seldom or never absent from thence at the time of those greater assemblies; and the favour of proposing there in convenient sort whatsoever ye can object (which thing myself have known them to grant of scholastical courtesy unto strangers) neither hath (as I think) nor ever will (I presume) be denied you.

[1.] If your suit be to have some great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof the laws that already are should sleep and have no power over you, till in the hearing of thousands ye all did acknowledge your error and renounce the further prosecution of your cause: haply¹ they whose authority is required unto the satisfying of your demand do think it both dangerous to admit such concurrence of divided minds, and unmeet that laws, which being once solemnly established are to exact obedience of all men and to constrain thereunto, should so far stoop as to hold themselves in suspense from taking any effect upon you till some disputer can persuade you to be obedient². A law is the deed of the whole body politic, whereof if ye judge yourselves to be any part, then is the law even your deed also. And were it reason in things of this quality to give men audience, pleading for the overthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified? Laws that have been approved may be (no man doubteth) again repealed, and to that end also disputed against, by the authors thereof themselves. But this is when the whole doth deliberate what laws each part shall observe, and not when a part refuseth the laws which the whole hath orderly agreed upon.

[3.] Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the cause we maintain is (God be thanked) such as needeth not to shun any trial, might it please them on whose approbation the matter dependeth to condescend so far unto you in this behalf, I

¹ ["happily," and so usually in ed. 240, a petition of Barrow for a conference, with Archbishop Whiggin's reply.]

² [See in *Strype*, Ann. IV. 230, reasons against it.]

wish heartily that proof were made even by solemn conference in orderly and quiet sort, whether you would yourselves be satisfied, or else could by satisfying others draw them to your part. Provided always, first, inasmuch as ye go about to destroy a thing which is in force, and to draw in that which hath not as yet been received; to impose on us that which we think not ourselves bound unto, and to overthrow those things whereof we are possessed; that therefore ye are not to claim in any such conference other than the plaintiff's or opponent's part, which must consist altogether in proof and confirmation of two things: the one, that our orders by you condemned we ought to abolish; the other, that yours we are bound to accept in the stead thereof: secondly, because the questions in controversy between us are many, if once we descend unto particularities; that for the easier and more orderly proceeding therein most general be first discussed, nor any question left off, nor in each question the prosecution of any one argument given over and another taken in hand, till the issue whereunto by replies and answers both parts are come, be collected, read, and acknowledged as well on the one side as on the other to be the plain conclusion which they are grown unto: thirdly, for avoiding of the manifold inconveniences whereunto ordinary and extemporal disputes are subject; as also because, if ye should singly dispute one by one as every man's own wit did best serve, it might be conceived by the rest that haply some other would have done more; the chiefest of you do all agree in this action, that whom ye shall then choose your speaker, by him that which is publickly brought into disputation be acknowledged by all your consents not to be his allegation but yours, such as ye all are agreed upon, and have required him to deliver in all your names; the true copy whereof being taken by a notary, that a reasonable time be allowed for return of answer unto you in the like form. Fourthly, whereas a number of conferences have been had in other causes with the less effectual success, by reason of partial and untrue reports published afterwards unto the world; that to prevent this evil, there be at the first a solemn declaration made on both parts, of their agreement to have that very book and no other set abroad, wherein their present authorized notaries do write those things fully and

Profero,
Ch. v. 3

Profer,
Ch. vi. 4.
 only, which being written and there read, are by their own open testimony acknowledged to be their own. Other circumstances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for prevention of impertinent and needless speech, or to any end and purpose else—they may be thought on when occasion serveth.

In this sort to broach my private conceit for the ordering of a public action I should be loth (albeit I do it not otherwise than under correction of them whose gravity and wisdom ought in such cases to overrule,) but that so venturous boldness I see is a thing now general; and am thereby of good hope, that where all men are licensed to offend, no man will shew himself a sharp accuser.

No end of contention, without admission of both parts unto some definitive sentence.
 VI. What success God may give unto any such kind of conference or disputation, we cannot tell. But of this we are right sure, that nature, Scripture¹, and experience itself, have all taught the world to seek for the ending of contentions by submitting itself unto some judicial and definitive sentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth may under any pretence or colour refuse to stand. This must needs be effectual and strong. As for other means without this, they seldom prevail. I would therefore know, whether for the ending of these irksome strifes, wherein you and your followers do stand thus formally divided against the authorized guides of this church, and the rest of the people subject unto their charge; whether I say ye be content to refer your cause to any other higher judgment than your own, or else intend to persist and proceed as ye have begun, till yourselves can be persuaded to condemn yourselves. If your determination be this, we can be but sorry that ye should deserve to be reckoned with such, of whom God himself pronounceth, "The way of peace they have not known."²

[2.] Ways of peaceable conclusion there are, but these two certain: the one, a sentence of judicial decision given by authority thereto appointed within ourselves; the other, the like kind of sentence given by a more universal authority. The former of which two ways God himself in the Law

¹ [Hebr. vi. 16. "As oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife."] ² Rom. ii. 17.

prescribeth, and his Spirit it was which directed the very first Christian churches in the world to use the latter.

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Ch. vi. >

The ordinance of God in the Law was this. "If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea, &c. then shalt thou arise, and go up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and thou shalt come unto the Priests of the Levites, and unto the Judge that shall be in those days, and ask, and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment, and thou shalt do according to that thing, which they of that place which the Lord hath chosen shew thee, and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee; according to the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, shalt thou do; thou shalt not decline from the thing which they shall shew thee to the right hand nor to the left. And that man that will do presumptuously, not hearkening unto the Priest (that standeth before the Lord thy God to minister there) or unto the Judge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away evil from Israel."

When there grew in the Church of Christ a question, Whether the Gentiles believing might be saved, although they were not circumcised after the manner of Moses, nor did observe the rest of those legal rites and ceremonies wherunto the Jews were bound; after great disension and disputation about it, their conclusion in the end was to have it determined by sentence at Jerusalem; which was accordingly done in a council there assembled for the same purpose¹. Are ye able to allege any just and sufficient cause wherefore absolutely ye should not condescend in this controversy to have your judgments overruled by some such definitive sentence, whether it fall out to be given with or against you; that so these tedious contentions may cease?

[3] Ye will perhaps make answer, that being persuaded already as touching the truth of your cause, ye are not to hearken unto any sentence, no not though Angels should define otherwise, as the blessed Apostle's own example teacheth²; again, that men, yea councils, may err; and that, unless the judgment given do satisfy your minds,

¹ Deut. xvii. 8.

² Acts xv.

³ [Gal. i. 8.]

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unless it be such as ye can by no further argument oppugn, in a word, unless you perceive and acknowledge it yourselves consonant with God's word; to stand unto it not allowing it were to sin against your own consciences.

But consider I beseech you first as touching the Apostle, how that wherein he was so resolute and peremptory, our Lord Jesus Christ made manifest unto him even by intuitive revelation, wherein there was no possibility of error. That which you are persuaded of, ye have it no otherwise than by your own only probable collection, and therefore such bold asseverations as in him were admirable, should in your mouths but argue rashness. God was not ignorant that the priests and judges, whose sentence in matters of controversy he ordained should stand, both might and oftentimes would be deceived in their judgment. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of His understanding, that sometime an erroneous sentence definitive should prevail, till the same authority perceiving such oversight, might afterwards correct or reverse it, than that strifes should have respite to grow, and not come speedily unto some end.

Neither wish we that men should do any thing which in their hearts they are persuaded they ought not to do, but this persuasion ought (we say) to be fully settled in their hearts; that in litigious and controverted causes of such quality, the will of God is to have them do whatsoever the sentence of judicial and final decision shall determine, yea, though it seem in their private opinion to swerve utterly from that which is right: as no doubt many times the sentence amongst the Jews did seem unto one part or other contending, and yet in this case, God did then allow them to do that which in their private judgment it seemed, yea and perhaps truly seemed, that the law did disallow. For if God be not the author of confusion but of peace, then can he not be the author of our refusal, but of our contentment, to stand unto some definitive sentence; without which almost impossible it is that either we should avoid confusion, or ever hope to attain peace. To small purpose had the Council of Jerusalem been assembled, if once their determination being set down, men might afterwards have defended their former opinions. When therefore they had given their definitive sentence, all

controversy was at an end. Things were disputed before they came to be determined; men afterwards were not to dispute any longer, but to obey. The sentence of judgment finished their strife, which their disputes before judgment could not do. This was ground sufficient for any reasonable man's conscience to build the duty of obedience upon, whatsoever his own opinion were as touching the matter before in question. So full of wilfulness and self-liking is our nature, that without some definitive sentence, which being given may stand, and a necessity of silence on both sides afterward imposed, small hope there is that strifes thus far prosecuted will in short time quietly end.

[4.] Now it were in vain to ask you, whether ye could be content that the sentence of any court already erected should be so far authorized, as that among the Jews established by God himself, for the determining of all controversies: "That man which will do presumptuously, not hearkening unto the Priest that standeth before the Lord to minister there, nor unto the Judge, let him die." Ye have given us already to understand, what your opinion is in part concerning her sacred Majesty's Court of High Commission; the nature whereof is the same with that amongst the Jews¹, albeit the power be not so great. The other way haply may like you better, because Master Beza, in his last book save one² written about these matters, professeth himself to be now weary of such combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, inasmuch as he findeth that "controversies thereby are made but brawls;" and therefore wisheth "that in some common lawful assembly of churches all these strifes may at once be decided."

¹ [See George Cranmer's notes on II. vi.]
² Praef. Tract. de Presbyt. et Excom. ["Ab illis peto, . . . ut me jam pridem istarum concertationum perisium, quibus in rixas evadere potius quam mitigari, nedum extinguui controversias apparet, non inveni patientior vel pariter istas minus occupatis aliis fratribus relinquere, si fuerit opus, obundas; vel taciturno expectare, donec aut Ecclesiae suae sic domi et foris vesate precibus hoc tribuat Do-

minus, ut lites omnes istae communi aliquo legitimo ecclesiarum conventu decidantur; vel mihi denique septuagesimum primum jam annum in terris peregrinanti portus ille beatissimae et paternae quietis, ad quem totus anhelo, per clementissimum Servatoris mei misericordiam patefacat."] [Praef. sign. A. 7. Beza's pamphlet against Erastus, dated, "Genevae à Duce Sabaudis, contra jus et fas omne circumvallate Kal. Mart. anno temperis ultimi 1590." 1886.

Prolix. [5.] Shall there be then in the meanwhile no "doings?" Yes. There are the weightier matters of the law, "judgment, and "mercy, and fidelity!" These things we ought to do; and these things, while we contend about less, we leave undone. Happier are they whom the Lord when he cometh shall find "doing" in these things, than disputing about "Doctors, Elders, "and Deacons." Or if there be no remedy but somewhat needs ye must do which may tend to the setting forward of your discipline; do that which wise men, who think some statute of the realm more fit to be repealed than to stand in force, are accustomed to do before they come to parliament where the place of enacting is; that is to say, spend the time in re-examining more duly your cause, and in more thoroughly considering of that which ye labour to overthrow. As for the orders which are established, sith equity and reason, the law of nature, God and man, do all favour that which is in being, till orderly judgment of decision be given against it; it is but justice to exact of you, and perverseness in you it should be to deny, thereunto your willing obedience.

[6.] Not that I judge it a thing allowable for men to observe those laws which in their hearts they are steadfastly persuaded to be against the law of God: but your persuasion in this case ye are all bound for the time to suspend; and in otherwise doing, ye offend against God by troubling his Church without any just or necessary cause. Be it that there are some reasons inducing you to think hardly of our laws. Are those reasons demonstrative, are they necessary, or but mere probabilities only? An argument necessary and demonstrative is such, as being proposed unto any man and understood, the mind cannot choose but inwardly assent. Any one such reason dischargeth, I grant, the conscience, and setteth it at full liberty. For the public approbation given by the body of this whole church unto those things which are established, doth make it but probable that they are good. And therefore unto a necessary proof that they are not good it must give place. But if the skillfullest amongst you can shew that all the books ye have hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let

¹ Matt. xxiii. 23.

the instance be given. As for probabilities, what thing was there ever set down so agreeable with sound reason, but some probable shew against it might be made? Is it meet that when publicly things are received, and have taken place, general obedience thereunto should cease to be exacted, in case this or that private person, led with some probable conceit, should make open protestation, "I Peter or John disallow them, and pronounce them nought?" In which case your answer will be, that concerning the laws of our church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of "a private man, but of thousands," yea and even "of those amongst which divers are in public charge and authority!" As though when public consent of the whole hath established any thing, every man's judgment being thereunto compared were not private, howsoever his calling be to some kind of public charge. So that of peace and quietness there is not any way possible, unless the probable voice of every entire society or body politic overrule all private of like nature in the same body. Which thing effectually proveth, that God, being author of peace and not of confusion in the church, must needs be author of those men's peaceable resolutions, who concerning these things have determined with themselves to think and do as the church they are of decreeth, till they see necessary cause enforcing them to the contrary.

VII. Nor is mine own intent any other in these several books of discourse, than to make it appear unto you, that for the ecclesiastical laws of this land, we are led by great reason to observe them, and ye by no necessity bound to impugn them. It is no part of my secret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred, or to set upon the face of this cause any fairer glass than the naked truth doth afford; but my whole endeavour is to resolve the conscience, and to shew as near as I can what in this controversy the heart is to think, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere judgment, without either cloud of prejudice, or mist of passionate affection.

[2] Wherefore seeing that laws and ordinances in particular, whether such as we observe, or such as yourselves would have established;—when the mind doth sift and

¹ T. C. lib. iii. p. 181.

² ["interier," and so vii. 7. ed. 1594.]

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 examine them, it must needs have often recourse to a number of doubts and questions about the nature, kinds, and qualities of laws in general; whereof unless it be thoroughly informed, there will appear no certainty to stay our persuasion upon: I have for that cause set down in the first place an introduction on both sides needful to be considered: declaring therein what law is, how different kinds of laws there are, and what force they are of according unto each kind.

[3] This doth, because ye suppose the laws for which ye strive are found in Scripture, but those not, against which ye strive; and upon this surmise are drawn to hold it as the very main pillar of your whole cause, "That Scripture ought to be the only rule of all our actions," and consequently that the church-orders which we observe being not commanded in Scripture, are offensive and displeasent unto God: I have spent the second Book in sifting of this point, which standeth with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon ye build.

[4] Whereunto the next in degree is, That as God will have always a Church upon earth, while the world doth continue, and that Church stand in need of government; of which government it behoveth Himself to be both the Author and Teacher: so it cannot stand with duty that man should ever presume in any wise to change and alter the same; and therefore "that in Scripture there must of necessity be found some particular form of Polity Ecclesiastical, the Laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration."

[5] The first three Books being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the general grounds and foundations of your cause unto your general accusations against us, as having in the orders of our Church (for so you pretend) "corrupted the right form of church-polity with manifold popish rites and ceremonies, which certain reformed Churches have banished from amongst them, and have thereby given us such example as (you think) we ought to follow." This your assertion hath herein drawn us to make search, whether these be just exceptions against the customs of our Church, when ye plead that they are the same which the Church of Rome hath, or that they are not the same which some other reformed Churches have devised.

[6.] Of those four Books which remain and are bestowed about the specialities of that cause which lieth in controversy, the first examineth the causes by you alleged, wherefore the public duties of Christian religion, as our prayers, our Sacraments, and the rest, should not be ordered in such sort as with us they are; nor that power, whereby the persons of men are consecrated unto the ministry, be disposed of in such manner as the laws of this church do allow. The second and third are concerning the power of jurisdiction: the one, whether laymen, such as your governing Elders are, ought in all congregations for ever to be invested with that power; the other, whether Bishops may have that power over other Pastors, and therewithal that honour, which with us they have? And because besides the power of order which all consecrated persons have, and the power of jurisdiction which neither they all nor they only have, there is a third power, a power of Ecclesiastical Dominion, communicable, as we think, unto persons not ecclesiastical, and most fit to be restrained unto the Prince or Sovereign commander over the whole body politic: the eighth book we have allotted unto this question, and have sifted therein your objections against those preeminences royal which thereunto appertain.

[7.] Thus have I laid before you the brief of these my travails, and presented under your view the limbs of that cause litigious between us: the whole entire body whereof being thus compact, it shall be no troublesome thing for any man to find each particular controversy's resting-place, and the coherence it hath with those things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

VIII. The case so standing therefore, my brethren, as it doth, the wisdom of governors ye must not blame, in that they further also forecasting the manifold strange and dangerous innovations which are more than likely to follow, if your discipline should take place, have for that cause thought hitherto a part of their duty to withstand your endeavours that way. The rather, for that they have seen already some small beginnings of the fruits thereof, in them who concurring with you in judgment about the necessity of that discipline, have adventured without more ado to separate themselves from the rest of the Church, and to put your speculations in

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viii. 1.

How just
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take place.

execution¹. These men's hastiness the warier sort of you doth not commend; ye wish they had held themselves longer in, and not so dangerously flown abroad before the feathers of the cause had been grown; their error with merciful terms ye reprove, naming them, in great commiseration of mind, your "poor brethren"². They on the contrary side more bitterly accuse you as their "false brethren;" and against you they plead, saying: "From your breasts it is that we have sucked those things, which when ye delivered unto us ye termed that heavenly, sincere, and wholesome milk of God's word³, howsoever ye now abhor as poison that which the virtue thereof hath wrought and brought forth in us. You sometime our companions, guides and familiars, with whom we have had most sweet consultations⁴, are now

¹ [See *Strype, Whig. II. 191; Ann. IV. 127, 136, 187-196, 197, 202, 239, 246.* Bancroft, *Survey, &c.* 340-349. The head of this separation was Robert Browne. See his "Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the wickedness of those Preachers, which will not reform themselves and their charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them." Prefixed to "A Booke which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians." (Bodl. 4^o. B. 8. Th. Seid.) Middleburgh, 1582. Also (Bodl. 4^o. Crymes, 744.) Greenwood's Answer to Giffard, (who had written a short Treatise against the Donatists of England,) and in the same volume, 2. "A collection of certain slanderous Articles given out by the Bishops;" and 3. "A Collection of certain Letters and Confessions lately passed betwixt certain Preachers and two Prisoners in the Fleet," (Barrow and Greenwood, all 1592. In this latter, p. 7, we find the following portion of a dialogue between Barrow and Sperin, a Puritan minister. "Barrow: Trow you, are none wicked in all the land, with whom you stand one body? for all are of your church. Will you justify also all the parishes of England?" Sperin: "I will justify all those parishes that have preaching ministers." Barrow: "And what think you of those that have no preaching ministers?" Sperin: "I think not such to be true churches." (Mr. Sperin was here requested to set down this under his hand, but would not.) In "An Answer to M. Cartwright his Letter for joining with the English Churches," (which letter is subjoined in the same pamphlet, Bodl. 4^o. S. 58. Th.) we read, p. 12, "Another proof is, as though it were granted him, That where a preaching minister is, there is a church." [Penry, Preface to "A Brief Discovery," (after speaking of Donatism,) "If any of our poor brethren be carried away, to think otherwise of the congregations of England, which enjoy the word truly preached and the right administration of the sacraments; we cease not to pray that the Lord would reform their judgments. But woe be unto our bishops, which are the cause of this their stumbling, and maintainers of their error. For the poor brethren do hold nothing in this point, but that which the learned fathers, as M. Bancroft calleth them, have decreed."] ² 1 Pet. ii. 2. ³ Psalm lv. 13.

"become our professed adversaries, because we think the
 "statute-congregations in England to be no true Christian
 "churches¹; because we have severed ourselves from them;
 "and because without their leave and license that are in civil
 "authority, we have secretly framed our own churches ac-
 "cording to the platform of the word of God. For of that
 "point between you and us there is no controversy. Alas!
 "what would ye have us to do? At such time as ye were
 "content to accept us in the number of your own, your
 "teachings we heard, we read your writings: and though
 "we would, yet able we are not to forget with what zeal ye
 "have ever professed, that in the English congregations (for
 "so many of them as be ordered according unto their own
 "laws) the very public service of God is fraught as touching
 "matter with heaps of intolerable pollutions, and as concern-
 "ing form, borrowed from the shop of Antichrist; hateful
 "both ways in the eyes of the Most Holy; the kind of their
 "government by bishops and archbishops antichristian; that
 "discipline which Christ hath 'essentially tied,' that is to
 "say, so united unto his Church, that we cannot account it
 "really to be his Church which hath not in it the same disci-
 "pline, that very discipline no less there despised, than in
 "the highest throne of Antichrist²; all such parts of the

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 ¶ 11.

¹ [See the opinions charged on Barrow and Greenwood before the court of high commission, Nov. 1687, in Faulx's Life of Whitgift; Worlesworth, E. B. IV. 356. One of them is, "That all the prelates, which refuse the ceremonies of the Church, and yet preach in the same Church, strain at a gnat and swallow a camel; and are close hypocrites, and walk in a left-handed policy: as Master Cartwright, Whiggington, &c." See the notes on Cranmer's letter to Hooker, vol. ii. book v. appendix a.]

² Pref. against Dr. Bancroft. [Pref. to "a Briefe Discovery of the Untruthes and Slanders against the true government of the Church of Christ" contained in a Sermon, preached the 8 of Februarie, 1588, by D. Bancroft, and since that time set forth in print, with addi-

tions by the said Author." By Peury, 1596. The passage referred to is, "The visible Church of God, wheresoever it be, hath the power of binding and loosing annexed unto it, as our Saviour Christ teacheth us, Matth. 18, which authority is so essentially tied unto the visible Church, that wheresoever this power is to be found, there the Church of Christ is also visible, and wheresoever there is a visible Church, there this authority cannot be denied to be. . . . Now the reader cannot be ignorant, that our bishops will never grant that the visible congregations in England ought to have this power of binding and loosing. . . . The crime therefore of schism, and Donation, which M. Bancroft and the prelates would fasten upon us, doth justly cleave

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 " word of God as do any way concern that discipline no less
 " unsoundly taught and interpreted by all authorized English
 " pastors, than by Antichrist's factors themselves; at baptism
 " crossing, at the supper of the Lord kneeling, at both, a
 " number of other the most notorious badges of Antichristian
 " recognizance usual. Being moved with these and the like
 " your effectual discourses, whereunto we gave most attentive
 " ear, till they entered even into our souls, and were as fire
 " within our bosoms; we thought we might hereof be bold to
 " conclude, that sith no such Antichristian synagogue may be
 " accounted a true church of Christ, you by accusing all con-
 " gregations ordered according to the laws of England as
 " Antichristian, did mean to condemn those congregations, as
 " not being any of them worthy the name of a true Christian
 " church. Ye tell us now it is not your meaning. But what
 " meant your often threatenings of them, who professing
 " themselves the inhabitants of Mount Sion, were too loth to
 " depart wholly as they should out of Babylon? Whereat our
 " hearts being fearfully troubled, we durst not, we durst not
 " continue longer so near her confines, lest her plagues might
 " suddenly overtake us, before we did cease to be partakers
 " with her sins: for so we could not choose but acknow-
 " ledge with grief that we were, when, they doing evil, we
 " by our presence in their assemblies seemed to like thereof,
 " or at leastwise not so earnestly to dislike, as became men
 " heartily zealous of God's glory. For adventuring to erect
 " the discipline of Christ without the leave of the Christian
 " magistrate, haply ye may condemn us as fools, in that we
 " hazard thereby our estates and persons further than you
 " which are that way more wise think necessary: but of any
 " offence or sin therein committed against God, with what
 " conscience can you accuse us, when your own positions are,
 " that the things we observe should every of them be dearer
 " unto us than ten thousand lives; that they are the peremp-
 " tory commandments of God; that no mortal man can dis-
 " pense with them, and that the magistrate grievously sinneth
 " unto themselves. . . . It shall be " wherewith the Church of God in a
 " proved in the end, that they are " while (if they hold on their course)
 " the schismatics and not we. It " can have no more to do, than in
 " shall appear that they are growing " times past it had with the schis-
 " to make a body of their own, " matical Donatists. "]

"in not constraining thereunto? Will ye blame any man for
 "doing that of his own accord, which all men should be com-
 "pelled to do that are not willing of themselves? When God
 "commandeth, shall we answer that we will obey, if so be
 "Caesar will grant us leave? Is discipline an ecclesiastical
 "matter or a civil? If an ecclesiastical, it must of necessity
 "belong to the duty of the minister. And the minister
 "(you say) holdeth all his authority of doing whatsoever
 "belongeth unto the spiritual charge of the house of God
 "even immediately from God himself, without dependency
 "upon any magistrate. Whereupon it followeth, as we sup-
 "pose, that the hearts of the people being willing to be
 "under the sceptre of Christ, the minister of God, into whose
 "hands the Lord himself hath put that sceptre, is without all
 "excuse if thereby he guide them not. Nor do we find that
 "hitherto greatly ye have disliked those churches abroad,
 "where the people with direction of their godly ministers
 "have even against the will of the magistrate brought in
 "either the doctrine or discipline of Jesus Christ. For
 "which cause we must now think the very same thing of
 "you, which our Saviour did sometime utter concerning
 "falsehearted Scribes and Pharisees, 'they say, and do not!'"
 Thus the foolish Barrowist deriveth his schism by way of
 conclusion, as to him it seemeth, directly and plainly out of
 your principles. Him therefore we leave to be satisfied by
 you from whom he hath sprung.

[2.] And if such by your own acknowledgment be per-
 sons dangerous, although as yet the alterations which they
 have made are of small and tender growth; the changes
 likely to ensue throughout all states and vocations within
 this land, in case your desire should take place, must be
 thought upon.

First concerning the supreme power of the Highest, they
 are no small prerogatives, which now thereunto belong-
 ing the form of your discipline will constrain it to resign;
 as in the last book of this treatise we have shewed at
 large³.

³ Math. xxiii. 3. finished before 1594, when this
⁴ [From this it would seem that preface was published.]
 the whole treatise was in a manner
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Again it may justly be feared whether our English nobility, when the matter came in trial, would contentedly suffer themselves to be always at the call, and to stand to the sentence of a number of mean persons assisted with the presence of their poor teacher¹, a man (as sometimes it happeneth) though better able to speak, yet little or no whit apter to judge, than the rest: from whom, be their dealings never so absurd, (unless it be by way of complaint to a synod,) no appeal may be made unto any one of higher power, inasmuch as the order of your discipline admitteth no standing inequality of courts, no spiritual judge to have any ordinary superior on earth, but as many supremacies as there are parishes and several congregations.

[3.] Neither is it altogether without cause that so many do fear the overthrow of all learning as a threatened sequel of this your intended discipline. For if "the world's preservation" depend upon "the multitude of the wise²," and of that sort the number hereafter be not likely to wax overgreat, "when" (that wherewith the son of Sirach professeth himself at the heart grieved) "men of understanding are" already so "little set by³," how should their minds whom the love of so precious a jewel fileth with secret jealousy even in regard of the least things which may any way hinder the flourishing estate thereof, choose but misdoubt lest this discipline, which always you match with divine doctrine as her natural and true sister, be found unto all kinds of know-

¹ [Statcliffe de Presbyt. 134: "Le-
gibus nostris antiquatis, et ho-
minibus doctis ab Ecclesie clavo
"et humanas administravit) dimotis,
"presbyteri se ad rem accingenti,
"Deus bone, quales et quanti ho-
"mines! accedent primo Pastores
"quidam (si quales apud nos sunt
"ecce cupiatis) adolescentuli pleri-
"que novi, rerum imperiti, cui pueris
"male crediderit, aut unum servu-
"lum; qui seipos via regunt, tan-
"tum abest ut principes regere pos-
"sint. Aderunt etiam (vix enim est quod
"esse) Presbyteri, viri bene barbati
"et tetrici, quorum plurimae sunt
"species: eorum enim nonnulli ar-
"tifices sunt, ut fabri, qui nobis arte

"Vulcania disciplinam excudent:
"coqui etiam aderunt, ut aliquid
"et in presbyterio insipido con-
"diment: sutores, ut pugnantem
"presbyterorum sententias sarci-
"ant: sine commentariis, ars haec
"presbyteralis edificari non potest:
"adjuvantur praeterea aliquot agri-
"colarum et mercatorum censurae:
"pharmacopole vero non recte de-
"siderantur, multo enim illis opus
"est helleboro. Atque tota haec con-
"suetudo et consuetudo, quis non
"presbyterium istiusmodi omnibus
"archiepiscopis, episcopis, et pelli-
"quis ecclesiae Anglicanae modera-
"toribus praeferat:]
" Sap. vi. 24.
" Eccles. xxxi. 28.

ledge a step-mother¹; seeing that the greatest worldly hopes, which are proposed unto the chiefest kind of learning, ye seek utterly to extirpate as weeds, and have grounded your platform on such propositions as do after a sort undermine those most renowned habitations, where through the goodness of Almighty God all commendable arts and sciences are with exceeding great industry hitherto (and so may they for ever continue) studied, proceeded in, and professed². To charge you as purposely bent to the overthrow of that, wherein so many of you have attained no small perfection, were injurious. Only therefore I wish that yourselves did well consider, how opposite certain your positions are unto the state of collegiate societies, whereon the two universities consist. Those degrees which their statutes bind them to take are by your laws taken away³; yourselves who have sought them ye so excuse, as that ye would have men to think ye judge them not allowable, but tolerable only, and to be borne with, for some help which ye find in them unto the furtherance of your purposes, till the corrupt estate of the Church may be better reformed. Your laws forbidding ecclesiastical persons utterly the exercise of civil power must needs deprive the Heads and Masters in the same colleges of all such authority as now they exercise, either at home, by punishing the faults of those, who not as children to their parents by the law of nature, but altogether by civil authority are subject unto them: or abroad by keeping courts amongst their tenants. Your laws making permanent equality amongst

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¹ [By studying in corners, "many melancholy model-makers, and church-robbers may be made, but not one sound divine: for scholars profit by mutual conference, disputation, exercise, mutual emulation and example, as much as by hearing and reading; but those helps they lose that teach in corners. There is but small hope that they would make learned men, or sensible that they mean any such matter, when taking away the livings of the clergy, and hope of reward from the learned, they turn men up to live upon pensions, and to stand to the courtesy of unlettered elders and

deacons, that think crusts too good for learned men." Sutcliffe, False Semblant, &c. 134.]

² [Technical words, for the three degrees academical in the several arts; for masters of arts are all, properly speaking, professors or readers.]

³ [Adm. 16: "The titles of ours universities, doctors, and bachelors of divinity, are not only for vain glory sought and granted, but there they are the names of course, conferred rather by the prophane judgments of them that know not what office of the Church they belong too, &c.]

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ministers a thing repugnant to the word of God, enforce those colleges, the seniors whereof are all or any part of them ministers under the government of a master in the same vocation, to choose as oft as they meet together a new president. For if so ye judge it necessary to do in synods, for the avoiding of permanent inequality amongst ministers, the same cause must needs even in these collegiate assemblies enforce the like. Except peradventure ye mean to avoid all such absurdities, by dissolving those corporations, and by bringing the universities unto the form of the School of Geneva. Which thing men the rather are inclined to look for, inasmuch as the ministry, wherinto their founders with singular providence have by the same statutes appointed them necessarily to enter at a certain time, your laws bind them much more necessarily to forbear, till some parish abroad call for them¹.

[4.] Your opinion concerning the law civil is that the knowledge thereof might be spared, as a thing which this land doth not need². Professors in that kind being few, ye are the bolder to spurn at them, and not to dissemble your minds as concerning their removal: in whose studies although myself have not much been conversant, nevertheless exceeding great cause I see there is to wish that thereunto more encouragement were given; as well for the singular treasures of wisdom therein contained, as also for the great use we have thereof, both in decision of certain kinds of causes arising daily within ourselves, and especially for commerce with nations abroad, wherunto that knowledge is most requisite. The reasons wherewith ye would persuade that Scripture is the only rule to frame all our actions by, are in every respect as effectual for proof that the same is the only law whereby to determine all our civil controversies. And then what doth let, but that as those men may have their

¹ [Decl. of Disc. transl. by T. C. P. 133.]
² Humb. Motion to the L. L. p. 30. ["As for the canon law, it is no way hurtful, but good for the state of this realm, if it were abolished: being, as hereafter will appear, not necessary but dangerous to the state... As for the
"maintaining of civilians, as the law already maketh no great necessity
"of them, having little other way
"to set them on work, but by the canon law: if such men's studies were converted another way to
"more profit, in the Church and commonwealth, little or no loss or inconvenience would follow."]]

desire, who frankly broach it already that the work of reformation will never be perfect, till the law of Jesus Christ be received alone; so pleaders and counsellors may bring their books of the common law, and bestow them as the students of curious and needless arts¹ did theirs in the Apostles' time? I leave them to scan how far those words of yours may reach, wherein ye declare that, whereas now many houses lie waste through inordinate suits of law, "this one thing will shew the excellency of discipline for the wealth of the realm, and quiet of subjects; that the Church is to censure such a party who is apparently troublesome and contentious, and without reasonable cause upon a mere will and stomach doth vex and molest his brother, and trouble the country²." For mine own part I do not see but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your discipline were fully planted, even to send out your writs of surcease unto all courts of England besides, for the most things handled in them³.

[5] A great deal further I might proceed and descend

¹ Acts xix. 19.
² Humb. Muton, p. 74.
³ [Bp. Cooper, Adm. to the people of England, (1188.) p. 86: "The canon law must be utterly taken away, with all offices to the same belonging.... The use and study of the civil law will be utterly overturned. For the civilians in this realm live not by the use of the civil law, but by the offices of the canon law, and such things as are within the compass thereof. And if you take those offices and functions away, and those matters wherewith they deal in the canon law, you must needs take away the hope of reward, and by that means their whole study." Sutcliffe, Remonstrance to the Deacons, of Disc. p. 41: "That which is needless, is unlawful. All courts of record, as chancery and common-pleas, &c. shall be found needless, if the consistory of presbyters and elders were set up; which is only needful in the church or congregation of the faithful brethren, because they may determine all matters wherein any breach of charity may be; as the admonition saith: Erga omnes courts of record, as chancery, common pleas, &c. by their reason will be found unlawful." and see p. 178, where, Udall having said, "Governors of the Church may not meddle but in matters ecclesiastical only, in deciding controversies, in doctrine and matters, as far as appertaineth to the conscience." Sutcliffe remarks: "This one limit of authority will carry all causes (though most out of all courts in the land unto their elderships. First, the chancery, that decideth matters of controversy by conscience, is clearly dimmed up, and may go pick pigles" (i. e. cowdip). "And are any other civil courts in better case? No verily; for can any controversy be betwixt man and man, but it 'appertaineth to conscience', to give the matter contended for unto him to whom of right it is due?" See also "False Semblant," &c. page 134, 135.]

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 lower. But forasmuch as against all these and the like difficulties your answer is¹, that we ought to search what things are consonant to God's will, not which be most for our own ease; and therefore that your discipline being (for such is your error) the absolute commandment of Almighty God, it must be received although the world by receiving it should be clean turned upside down; herein lieth the greatest danger of all. For whereas the name of divine authority is used to countenance these things, which are not the commandments of God, but your own erroneous collections; on him ye must father whatsoever ye shall afterwards be led, either to do in withstanding the adversaries of your cause, or to think in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In such kinds of error the mind once imagining itself to seek the execution of God's will, laboureth forthwith to remove both things and persons which any way hinder it from taking place; and in such cases if any strange or new thing seem requisite to be done, a strange and new opinion concerning the lawfulness thereof is withal received and broached under countenance of divine authority.

[6.] One example² herein may serve for many, to shew that false opinions, touching the will of God to have things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices against the hindrances of them; and those practices new opinions more pernicious than the first, yea most extremely sometimes opposite to that which the first did seem to intend. Where the people took upon them the reformation of the Church by casting out popish superstition, they having received from their pastors a general instruction "that whatsoever the heavenly Father hath not planted "must be rooted out³," proceeded in some foreign places so far that down went oratories and the very temples of God themselves. For as they chanced to take the compass of their commission stricter or larger, so their dealings

¹ Counterp. page 108: "His" "is according to God his will."
² (Cousin's) "first reasons are drawn [See Atp. Whiting's Exhortation prefixed to the Answer to the Admonition. 1st ed. p. 13-16.]
³ Church by this means; as re-
⁴ March. xv. 13. [See Brandt, Hist. of the Reform. in the Low Countries: B. ii. and vii.]

were accordingly more or less moderate. Amongst others there sprang up presently one kind of men, with whose zeal and forwardness the rest being compared were thought to be marvellous cold and dull. These grounding themselves on rules more general; that whatsoever the law of Christ commandeth not, thereof Antichrist is the author; and that whatsoever Antichrist or his adherents did in the world, the true professors of Christ are to undo; found out many things more than others had done, the extirpation whereof was in their conceit as necessary as of any thing before removed. Hereupon they secretly made their doleful complaints every where as they went¹, that albeit the world did begin to profess some dislike of that which was evil in the kingdom of darkness, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not seen; and that if men did repent as they ought, they must endeavour to purge the earth of all manner evil, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteousness only should dwell. Private repentance they said must appear by every man's fashioning his own life contrary unto the customs and orders of this present world, both in greater things and in less. To this purpose they had always in their mouths those greater things, charity, faith, the true fear of God, the cross, the mortification of the flesh¹. All their exhortations were to set light

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¹ Guy de Brès contre l'Erreur des Anabaptistes, p. 3. [“La raison, source, et fondement des Anabaptistes ou Rebaptistes de nostre temps: avec tres ample refutation des arguments principaux par lesquels ils ont accoustumé de troubler l'Eglise de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, et seduire les simples. Le tout recit en trois livres, par Guy de Brès. Chez Pierre de S. Andre, MDCCV.” small 4to pp. 93, no place of publication mentioned. [Originally published 1565. Biog. Univ.] The author was a pastor at Lille and Valenciennes, and with Saravia and three or four others was a principal author of “A Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches of the Low Countries, 1561 or 1562,” adopted by the States of Holland in 1522. “The said Saravia says in a certain letter, which I myself have seen, that ‘Guido de Brès communicated this Confession to such ministers as he could find, desiring them to correct what they thought amiss in it; so that it was not to be considered as one man’s work; but that some who were concerned in it ever designed it for a rule of faith to others, but only for a scriptural proof of what they themselves believed.’” Brand’s Hist. of the Reform. in the Low Countries, Eng. Transl. I. 122. De Brès was hanged at Valenciennes by the government of Philip II, in 1567. Ibid. p. 230. Anabaptism began by his account in Lower Saxony, about 1521.]
¹ P. 4.

Debetur,
Ex. viii. 3.

 of the things in this world, to count riches and honours vanity, and in token thereof not only to seek neither, but if men were possessors of both, even to cast away the one and resign the other, that all men might see their unfeigned conversion unto Christ¹. They were solicitors of men to fasts², to often meditations of heavenly things, and as it were conferences in secret with God by prayers, not framed according to the frozen manner of the world, but expressing such fervent desires as might even force God to hearken unto them. Where they found men in diet, attire, furniture of house, or any other way, observers of civility and decent order, such they reprov'd as being carnally and earthly minded. Every word otherwise than severely and sadly uttered seem'd to pierce like a sword through them³. If any man were pleasant, their manner was presently with deep sighs to repeat those words of our Saviour Christ, "Woe be to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament⁴." So great was their delight to be always in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their lives, they judg'd of all other men to be in most dangerous case. They so much affected to cross the ordinary custom in every thing, that when other men's use was to put on better attire, they would be sure to shew themselves openly abroad in worse: the ordinary names of the days in the week they thought it a kind of profaneness to use, and therefore accustomed themselves to make no other distinction than by numbers, the First, Second, Third day⁵.

[7.] From this they proceeded unto public reformation, first ecclesiastical, and then civil. Touching the former, they boldly avouch'd that themselves only had the truth, which thing upon peril of their lives they would at all times defend; and that since the apostles lived, the same was never before in all points sincerely taught⁶. Wherefore that things might again be brought to that ancient integrity which Jesus Christ by his word requieth, they began to controf the ministers of the gospel for attributing so much force and virtue unto the scriptures of God read, whereas the truth was, that when the word is said to engender faith in the heart, and to con-

¹ p. 16. ² p. 118, 119. ³ p. 116, 120. ⁴ Luke vi. 25. ⁵ p. 117. ⁶ p. 40.

vert the soul of man, or to work any such spiritual divine effect, these speeches are not thereunto applicable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghost opening the eyes of our understanding, and so revealing the mysteries of God, according to that which Jeremy promised before should be, saying, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts¹." The Book of God they notwithstanding for the most part so admired, that other disputation against their opinions than only by allegation of Scripture they would not hear; besides it they thought no other writings in the world should be studied; insomuch as one of their great prophets exhorting them to cast away all respects unto human writings, so far to his motion they condescended, that as many as had any books save the Holy Bible in their custody, they brought and set them publicly on fire². When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange fantastical opinion soever at any time entered into their heads, their use was to think the Spirit taught it them. Their phrensies concerning our Saviour's incarnation, the state of souls departed, and such-like³, are things needless to be rehearsed. And forasmuch as they were of the same suit with those of whom the apostle speaketh, saying, "They are still learning, but never attain to the knowledge of truth⁴," it was no marvel to see them every day broach some new thing, not heard of before. Which restless levity they did interpret to be their growing to spiritual perfection, and a proceeding from faith to faith⁵. The differences amongst them grew by this mean in a manner infinite, so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whose brain was not possessed with some special mystery. Whereupon, although their mutual contentions⁶ were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselves, yet when they came to defend the cause common to them all against the adversaries of their faction, they had ways to lick one another whole; the sounder in his own persuasion excusing *the dear brethren*⁷, which were not so far enlightened, and professing a charitable hope of the mercy of

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¹ Jer. xxxi. 33. [De Brés, p. 31, 92.] ² [De Brés, l. ii. and iii.]
³ p. 27. [and 702.] ⁴ 1 Tim. iii. 7, p. 62; p. 66.
⁵ p. 135. ⁶ p. 135.

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God towards them notwithstanding their swerving from him in some things. Their own ministers they highly magnified as men whose vocation was from God¹; the rest their manner was to term disdainfully Scribes and Pharisees², to account their calling an human creature, and to detain the people as much as might be from hearing them. As touching Sacraments³, Baptism administered in the Church of Rome they judged to be but an execrable mockery and no baptism; both because the ministers thereof in the Papacy were wicked idolaters, lewd persons, thieves and murderers, cursed creatures, ignorant beasts; and also for that to baptize is a proper action belonging unto none but the Church of Christ, whereas Rome is Antichrist's synagogue. The custom of using god-fathers and godmothers at christenings they scorned⁴. Baptizing of infants, although confessed by themselves to have been continued ever since the very Apostles' own times, yet they altogether condemned; partly because sundry errors are of no less antiquity⁵; and partly for that there is no commandment in the gospel of Christ which saith, "Baptize infants⁶," but he contrariwise is saying, "Go preach and baptize," doth appoint that the minister of baptism shall in that action first administer doctrine, and then baptize; as also in saying, "Whosoever doth believe and is baptized," he appointeth that the party to whom baptism is administered shall first believe and then be baptized; to the end that believing may go before this sacrament in the receiver, no otherwise than preaching in the giver; sith equally in both⁷, the law of Christ declareth not only what things are required, but also in what order they are required. The Eucharist they received (pretending our Lord and Saviour's example) after supper; and for avoiding all those impieties which have been grounded upon the mystical words of Christ, "This is my body, this is my blood," they thought it not safe to mention either body or blood in that sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to use no words but these, "Take, eat, declare the death of our Lord: Drink, shew forth our Lord's death!" In rites and ceremonies their profession was hatred of all conformity with the Church of Rome: for which cause they

¹ p. 71. ² p. 124. ³ p. 754. ⁴ p. 748. ⁵ p. 514.
⁶ p. 722, 725, 688. ⁷ p. 518. ⁸ p. 38.

would rather endure any torment than observe the solemn festivals which others did, inasmuch as Antichrist (they said) was the first inventor of them¹.

[8.] The pretended end of their civil reformation was that Christ might have dominion over all; that all crowns and sceptres might be thrown down at his feet; that no other might reign over Christian men but he, no regiment keep them in awe but his discipline, amongst them no sword at all be carried besides his, the sword of spiritual excommunication. For this cause they laboured with all their might in overturning the seats of magistracy², because Christ hath said, "Kings of nations³," in abolishing the execution of justice⁴, because Christ hath said, "Resist not evil," in forbidding oaths, the necessary means of judicial trial⁵, because Christ hath said, "Swear not at all;" finally, in bringing in community of goods⁶, because Christ by his apostles hath given the world such example, to the end that men might excel one another not in wealth the pillar of secular authority, but in virtue.

[9.] These men at the first were only pited in their error, and not much withstood by any; the great humility, zeal, and devotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all men's opinion a pledge of their harmless meaning. The hardest that men of sound understanding conceived of them was but this, "O quam honesta voluntate miseri errant! With how good a meaning these poor souls do evil!"⁷ Luther made request unto Frederick duke of Saxony⁸, that within his dominion they might be favourably dealt with and spared, for that (their error excepted⁹) they seemed otherwise right good men. By means of which merciful toleration they gathered strength, much more than was safe for the state of the commonwealth wherein they lived. They had their secret corner-meetings and assemblies in the night, the people flocked unto them by thousands¹⁰.

[10.] The means whereby they both allured and retained so great multitudes were most effectual: first, a wonderful show

¹ p. 122. ² p. 841. ³ [Luke xiii. 25.] ⁴ p. 833. ⁵ p. 842.
⁶ p. 40. ⁷ Lactant. de Justit. lib. v. c. 19. [p. 480, ed. Oxon. 1684.]
⁸ p. 6. ⁹ [So first edition: *excepted*, 1604, followed by later ones.] 1886.
¹⁰ p. 4. 20, 41, 42.

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Ch. viii. 11.
 of zeal towards God, wherewith they seemed to be even rapt in every thing they spake: secondly, an hatred of sin, and a singular love of integrity, which men did think to be much more than ordinary in them, by reason of the custom which they had to fill the ears of the people with invectives against their authorized guides, as well spiritual as civil: thirdly, the bountiful relief wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needy creatures, as were in that respect the more apt to be drawn away¹: fourthly, a tender compassion which they were thought to take upon the miseries of the common sort, over whose heads their manner was even to pour down showers of tears, in complaining that no respect was had unto them, that their goods were devoured by wicked cormorants, their persons had in contempt, all liberty both temporal and spiritual taken from them², that it was high time for God now to hear their groans, and to send them deliverance: lastly, a cunning sleight which they had to stroke and smooth up the minds of their followers, as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promises in Scripture; as also by casting the contrary always on the heads of such as were severed from that retinue. Whereupon the people's common acclamation unto such deceivers was, "These are verily the men of God, these are his true and sincere prophets³." If any such prophet or man of God did suffer by order of law condign and deserved punishment, were it for felony, rebellion, murder, or what else, the people, (so strangely were their hearts enchanted,) as though blessed Saint Stephen had been again martyred, did lament that God took away his most dear servants from them⁴.

[11.] In all these things being fully persuaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men should do the like; there remained, after speculation, practice, whereby the whole world thereunto (if it were possible) might be framed. This they saw could not be done but with mighty opposition and resistance; against which to strengthen themselves, they secretly entered into league of association⁵. And peradventure considering, that although they were many,

¹ p. 55. ² p. 6, 7. ³ p. 7. ⁴ p. 27. ⁵ p. 6.

yet long wars would in time waste them out; they began to think whether it might not be that God would have them do, for their speedy and mighty increase, the same which sometime God's own chosen people, the people of Israel, did. Glad and fain they were to have it so; which very desire was itself apt to breed both an opinion of possibility, and a willingness to gather arguments of likelihood, that so God himself would have it. Nothing more clear unto their seeming, than that a new Jerusalem being often spoken of in Scripture, they undoubtedly were themselves that new Jerusalem, and the old did by way of a certain figurative resemblance signify what they should both be and do. Here they drew in a sea of matter, by applying all things unto their own company, which are any where spoken concerning divine favours and benefits bestowed upon the old commonwealth of Israel: concluding that as Israel was delivered out of Egypt, so they spiritually out of the Egypt of this world's servile thraldom unto sin and superstition; as Israel was to root out the idolatrous nations, and to plant instead of them a people which feared God; so the same Lord's good will and pleasure was now, that these new Israelites should, under the conduct of other Josuas, Samsons, and Gedeons, perform a work no less miraculous in casting out violently the wicked from the earth, and establishing the kingdom of Christ with perfect liberty: and therefore, as the cause why the children of Israel took unto one man many wives, might be lest the casualties of war should any way hinder the promise of God concerning their multitude from taking effect in them; so it was not unlike that for the necessary propagation of Christ's kingdom under the Gospel the Lord was content to allow as much.

[12.] Now whatsoever they did in such sort collect out of Scripture, when they came to justify or persuade it unto others, all was the heavenly Father's appointment, his commandment, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I have gathered this declaration. For my purpose herein is to shew, that when the minds of men are once erroneously persuaded that it is the will of God to have those things done which they fancy, their opinions are as thorns in their sides, never suffering them to take rest

Profluv.
Ch. viii. 25
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Preface,
Ch. viii. 13.

till they have brought their speculations into practice. The lets and impediments of which practice their restless desire and study to remove leadeth them every day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, sometimes quite and clean contrary to their first pretended meanings: so as what will grow out of such errors as go masked under the cloak of divine authority, impossible it is that ever the wit of man should imagine, till time have brought forth the fruits of them: for which cause it behoveth wisdom to fear the sequels thereof, even beyond all apparent cause of fear. These men, in whose mouths at the first sounded nothing but only mortification of the flesh, were come at the length to think they might lawfully have their six or seven wives apiece; they which at the first thought judgment and justice itself to be merciless cruelty, accounted at the length their own hands sanctified with being embred in Christian blood; they who at the first were wont to beat down all dominion, and to urge against poor constables, "Kings of nations;" had at the length both consuls and kings of their own erection amongst themselves: finally, they which could not brook at the first that any man should seek, no not by law, the recovery of goods injuriously taken or withheld from him, were grown at the last to think they could not offer unto God more acceptable sacrifice, than by turning their adversaries clean out of house and home, and by enriching themselves with all kind of spoil and pillage; which thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readiness their answer¹, that now the time was come, when according to our Saviour's promise, "the meek ones must inherit the earth²;" and that their title hereunto was the same which the righteous Israelites had unto the goods of the wicked Egyptians³.

[13.] Wherefore sith the world hath had in these men so fresh experience, how dangerous such active errors are, it must not offend you, though, touching the sequel of your present mispersuasions, much more be doubted, than your own intents and purposes do haply aim at. And yet your words already are somewhat, when ye affirm, that your

¹ p. 41.

² Matt. v. 5.

³ Exod. xi. 2.

Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, ought to be in this Church of England, "whether her Majesty and our state
"will or no¹," when for the animating of your confederates
ye publish the musters which ye have made of your own
hands, and proclaim them to amount I know not to how many
thousands²; when ye threaten, that sith neither your suits to
the parliament, nor supplications to our convocation-house,
neither your defences by writing, nor challenges of disputation
in behalf of that cause are able to prevail, we must blame

Protest.
Ch. viii. 23

¹ Mart. in his third Libel.

² [Second Adm. p. 19, (misprint for 5.) ed. 1617. "We beseech you to pity this case, and to provide for it; it is the case already of many a thousand in this land; yea, it is the case of as many as seek the Lord aright, and desire to have his own orders restored. Great troubles will come of it, if it be not provided for; even the same God that hath stirred up a man unknown, to speak, though those poor men which are locked up in Newgate, neither do, nor can be suffered to speak, will daily stir up more."

Str. Whitig. II. 18. (from a MS.)

"One of our late libellers" [Marg. Martyn] "braggeth of 100,000 hands; and wisheth the parliament to bring in this reformation though it be by withstanding the Queen's Majesty."

Ibid. 191. In 1591, the Barrowites "were reckoned to amount to 20,000 by Sir W. Raleigh, in a speech of his in the last parliament."

"You are too broad with Martyn's brood, for he hath 100,000 that will set their hands to his articles, and shew the Queen's Pap with an Hatchet. (Of this pamphlet see before, in a note to the Life of Hooker.)"

"Let the magistrate once consider what pestilent and dangerous beasts these wretches" (the Bishops) "are unto the civil state. For either by their own confession they are the bishops of the Devil, (and so by that means will

"be the undoing of the state, if they be continued therein) or else their places ought to be in this commonwealth whether her Majesty and our State will or no, because they are not (as they say) the Bishops of man. Are they then the Bishops of God? that is, have they such a calling as the Apostles, Evangelists, &c. had? that is, such a calling as might lawfully to be in a Christian commonwealth (unless the magistrate would injure the Church, yea, main deform, and make a monster of the Church) whether the magistrate will or no." Ha' ye any Work for a Cooper? p. 28.

And in the Epitome, against Dr. Bridges, having quoted a passage from Ep. Aylmer's "Harborough

"for faithful Subjects," in which the Bishop had commended "those that in King Henry VIII. days

"would not grant him that his proclamations should have the force of a statute." Fenzy proceeds, "I assure you, brother John, you have spoken many things worthy

"the noting, and I would our parliament men would mark this action done in K. Hen. VIII. days, and follow it in bringing in reformation, and putting down Lord Bishops, with all other points of superstition. They may in your judgment not only do any thing

"against their King's or Queen's honour of God and the good of the commonwealth) but even withstand the proceedings of their sovereign."

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Ch. vii. 13
ourselves, if to bring in discipline some such means hereafter be used as shall cause all our hearts to ache¹. "That things doubtful are to be construed² in the better part," is a principle not safe to be followed in matters concerning the public state of a commonweal. But howsoever these and the like speeches be accounted as arrows idly shot at random, without either eye had to any mark, or regard to their lighting-place; hath not your longing desire for the practice of your discipline brought the matter already unto this demurrer amongst you, whether the people and their godly pastors that way affected ought not to make separation from the rest, and to begin the exercise of discipline without the license of civil powers, which license they have sought for, and are not heard? Upon which question as ye have now divided yourselves, the wariest sort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeal the other; so in case these earnest ones should prevail, what other sequel can any wise man imagine but this, that having first resolved that attempts for discipline without superiors are lawful, it will follow in the next place to be disputed what may be attempted against superiors which will not have the sceptre of that discipline to rule over them? Yea even by you which have stayed yourselves from running headlong with the other sort, somewhat notwithstanding these hath been done without the leave or liking of your lawful superiors, for the exercise of a part of your discipline amongst the clergy thereunto addicted³. And lest examination of prin-

¹ Demonstr. in the Pref. ["We have sought to advance the cause of God, by humble suit to the parliament, by supplication to your convocation house, by writing in defence of it, and by challenging to dispute for it: seeing none of these means used by us have prevailed, if it come in by that means, which will make all your hearts to ache, blame yourselves: for it must prevail, against it; or such a judgment must overtake this land, as shall cause the ears that hear thereof to tingle, and make us be a by word"]
² to all that pass by us."
³ [construed, ed. 1594.]
⁴ [In 1557, some of the ministers who had been silenced by the bishops for nonconformity began to set up separate assemblies, using the Geneva Prayer Book. Strype, Parker, I. 478-483. In 1577, the same party, by their "use or rather abuse" (Bishop Cox to Burghley, in Str. Ann. II. ii. 511.) of prophesyings, caused the inhibition of those exercises, (Queen's letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, *ibid.* 612.) and the suspension of Archbishop Grindal.

cipal parties therein should bring those things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings; behold, for a bar against that impediment, one opinion ye have newly added unto the rest even upon this occasion, an opinion to exempt you from taking oaths which may turn to the molestation of your brethren in that cause¹. The next neighbour opinion whereunto, when occasion requireth, may follow for dispensation with oaths already taken, if they afterwards be found to import a necessity of detecting ought which may bring such good men into trouble or damage, whatsoever the cause be². O merciful God, what man's wit is there able to sound the depth of those dangerous and fearful evils, whereinto our weak and impotent nature is inclinable to sink itself, rather than to shew an acknowledgment of error in that which once we have unadvisedly taken upon us to defend, against the stream as it were of a contrary public resolution!

[14.] Wherefore if we any thing respect their error, who being persuaded even as you are have gone further upon that persuasion than you allow; if we regard the present state of the highest governor placed over us, if the quality and disposition of our nobles, if the orders and laws of our famous universities, if the profession of the civil or the practice of the common law amongst us, if the mischiefs whereinto even before our eyes so many others have fallen headlong from no less plausible and fair beginnings than yours are: there is in every of these considerations most just cause to fear lest our hastiness to embrace a thing of so perilous consequence

(Grind. 342.) In 1585, they are charged with having established synods and classes in various counties, with reordination, unauthorized fast-days, and other schismatical acts. (Articles against Cartwright, in Fuller, C. H. IX. 200, 201, 202.) comp. in Strype's Whig III. 244-256, the bill exhibited against them in the Star Chamber.]

¹ [This seems to have been first started, in a formal and public way, by Cartwright and others, when cited before the ecclesiastical commission in 1590. Strype, Whig. II. 10, 26, 28-32.]

² [The 31st article tendered to Cartwright, (Fuller, ubi sup.) contains this clause, "That they should all teach . . . that it is not lawful to take any oath, whereby a man may be driven to discover any thing penal to himself or to his brother; especially if he be persuaded the matter to be lawful, for which the punishment is like to be inflicted: or having taken it in this case, need not discover the very truth."]

Prolog.
Ch. 16. 173

The con-
clusion of
all.

should cause posterity to feel those evils, which as yet are more easy for us to prevent than they would be for them to remedy.

IX. The best and safest way for you therefore, my dear brethren, is, to call your deeds past to a new reckoning, to reexamine the cause ye have taken in hand, and to try it even point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactness ye can; to lay aside the gall of that bitterness wherein your minds have hitherto over-abounded, and with meekness to search the truth. Think ye are men, deem it not impossible for you to err; sift unpartially your own hearts, whether it be force of reason or vehemency of affection, which hath bred and still doth feed these opinions in you. If truth do any where manifest itself, seek not to smother it with glosing delusions, acknowledge the greatness thereof, and think it your best victory when the same doth prevail over you.

[2.] That ye have been earnest in speaking or writing again and again the contrary way, shall be no blemish or discredit at all unto you. Amongst so many so huge volumes as the infinite pains of St. Augustine have brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater love, commendation and honour, than the book¹ wherein he carefully collecteth his own oversights, and sincerely condemneth them? Many speeches there are of Job's whereby his wisdom and other virtues may appear; but the glory of an ingenuous mind he hath purchased by these words only. "Behold, I will lay mine hand on my mouth: I have spoken once, yet will I not therefore maintain argument; yea twice, howbeit for that cause further I will not proceed."

[3.] Far more comfort it were for us (so small is the joy we take in these strifes) to labour under the same yoke, as men that look for the same eternal reward of their labours, to be joined with you in bands of indissoluble love and amity, to live as if our persons being many our souls were but one, rather than in such dismembered sort to spend our few and wretched days in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome contentions: the end whereof, if they have not some speedy end,

¹ [viz. "Retractionum,"]

² Job xl. 4. 5.

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Ch. 1. 4

 shew ourselves each towards other the same which Joseph and the brethren of Joseph were at the time of their interview in Egypt. Our comfortable expectation and most thirsty desire whereof what man soever amongst you shall any way help to satisfy, (as we truly hope there is no one amongst you but some way or other will,) the blessings of the God of peace, both in this world and in the world to come, be upon him more than the stars of the firmament in number.

What Things are handled in the Books following :

- Book the First, concerning Laws in general.
- The Second, of the use of Divine Law contained in Scripture; whether that be the only Law which ought to serve for our direction in all things without exception.
- The Third, of Laws concerning Ecclesiastical Polity; whether the form thereof be in Scripture so set down, that no addition or change is lawful.
- The Fourth, of general exceptions taken against the Laws of our Polity, as being popish, and banished out of certain reformed churches.
- The Fifth, of our Laws that concern the public religious duties of the Church, and the manner of bestowing that Power of Order, which enablieth men in sundry degrees and callings to execute the same.
- The Sixth, of the Power of Jurisdiction, which the reformed platform claimeth unto lay-elders, with others.
- The Seventh, of the Power of Jurisdiction, and the honour which is annexed thereunto in Bishops.
- The Eighth, of the power of Ecclesiastical Dominion or Supreme Authority, which with us the highest governeor or Prince hath, as well in regard of domestical Jurisdictions, as of that other foreignly claimed by the Bishop of Rome.

OF THE
L A W S
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.¹

THE FIRST BOOK.

CONCERNING LAWS AND THEIR SEVERAL KINDS IN GENERAL.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FIRST BOOK.

- I. The cause of writing this general Discourse concerning Laws.
- II. Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath set for himself to do all things by.
- III. The Law which natural agents observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.
- IV. The Law which the Angels of God obey.
- V. The Law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.
- VI. Men's first beginning to understand that Law.
- VII. Of Man's Will, which is the first thing that Laws of action are made to guide.
- VIII. Of the natural finding out of Laws by the light of Reason, to guide the Will unto that which is good.
- IX. Of the benefit of keeping that Law which Reason teacheth.
- X. How Reason doth lead men unto the making of human Laws, whereby politic Societies are governed, and to agreement about Laws, whereby the fellowship or communion of independent Societies standeth.
- XI. Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known such supernatural Laws as do serve for men's direction.
- XII. The cause why so many natural or rational Laws are set down in Holy Scripture.
- XIII. The benefit of having divine Laws written.
- XIV. The sufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was instituted.
- XV. Of Laws positive contained in Scripture, the mutability of certain of them, and the general use of Scripture.
- XVI. A Conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

¹ [Of this title it may not be improper to remark, that it by no means conveys the same idea with the phrase commonly substituted for it, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. It does not profess to deliver a complete scheme or system, but only contains a methodized course of observations on those portions of Church government, which seemed at the time most to require discussion.]

BOOK I.
Ch. i. s. 4.

The cause
of writing
this general
Discourse.

I. HE that goeth about to persuade a multitude, that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers; because they know the manifold defects wherunto every kind of regiment is subject, but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider. And because such as openly reprove supposed disorders of state are taken for principal friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carry singular freedom of mind; under this fair and plausible colour whatsoever they utter passeth for good and current. That which wanteth in the weight of their speech, is supplied by the aptness of men's minds to accept and believe it. Whereas on the other side, if we maintain things that are established, we have not only to strive with a number of heavy prejudices deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who think that herein we serve the time, and speak in favour of the present state, because thereby we either hold or seek preferment; but also to bear such exceptions as minds so averted beforehand usually take against that which they are loth should be poured into them.

[a.] Albeit therefore much of that we are to speak in this present cause may seem to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obscure, dark, and intricate; (for many talk of the truth, which never sounded the depth from whence it springeth; and therefore when they are led thereunto they are soon weary, as men drawn from those beaten paths wherewith they have been inured;) yet this may not so far prevail as to cut off that which the matter itself requireth, howsoever the nice humour of some be therewith pleased or no. They unto whom we shall seem tedious are in no wise injured¹ by us, because it is in their own hands to spare that labour which they are not willing to endure. And if any complain of obscurity, they must consider, that in these matters it cometh no otherwise to pass than in sundry the works both of art and also of nature, where that which hath greatest force in the very things we see is notwithstanding itself oftentimes not seen. The stateliness of houses, the goodness

¹ [Injured, ed. 1594.]

of trees, when we behold them delighteth the eye ; but that foundation which beareth up the one, that root which ministereth unto the other nourishment and life, is in the bosom of the earth concealed ; and if there be at any time occasion to search into it, such labour is then more necessary than pleasant, both to them which undertake it and for the lookers-on. In like manner, the use and benefit of good laws all that live under them may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and first original causes from whence they have sprung be unknown, as to the greatest part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience pretend that the laws which they should obey are corrupt and vicious ; for better examination of their quality, it behoveth the very foundation and root, the highest well-spring and fountain of them to be discovered. Which because we are not oftentimes accustomed to do, when we do it the pains we take are more needful a great deal than acceptable, and the matters which we handle seem by reason of newness (till the mind grow better acquainted with them) dark, intricate, and unfamiliar. For as much help whereof as may be in this case, I have endeavoured throughout the body of this whole discourse, that every former part might give strength unto all that follow, and every later bring some light unto all before. So that if the judgments of men do but hold themselves in suspense as touching these first more general meditations, till in order they have perused the rest that ensue ; what may seem dark at the first will afterwards be found more plain, even as the later particular decisions will appear I doubt not more strong, when the other have been read before.

[3.] The Laws of the Church, whereby for so many ages together we have been guided in the exercise of Christian religion and the service of the true God, our rites, customs, and orders of ecclesiastical government, are called in question : we are accused as men that will not have Christ Jesus to rule over them, but have wilfully cast his statutes behind their backs, hating to be reformed and made subject unto the sceptre of his discipline. Behold therefore we offer the laws whereby we live unto the general trial and judgment of the whole world ; heartily beseeching Almighty God, whom we desire to serve according to his own will, that both we

BOOK I.
Ch. 3.

200 *What Law is, generally: God only is a Law to Himself.*

BOOK I. and others (all kind of partial affection being clean laid aside)
Ch. II. v. 6. may have eyes to see and hearts to embrace the things that
----- in his sight are most acceptable.

And because the point about which we strive is the quality of our laws, our first entrance hereinto cannot better be made, than with consideration of the nature of law in general, and of that law which giveth life unto all the rest, which are commendable, just, and good; namely the law whereby the Eternal himself doth work. Proceeding from hence to the law, first of Nature, then of Scripture, we shall have the casier access unto those things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular cause and question which we have in hand.

Of that law which God from before the beginning hath set his himself to do all things by.

II. All things that are, have some operation not violent or casual. Neither doth any thing ever begin to exercise the same, without some fore-conceived end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obtained, unless the work be also fit to obtain it by. For unto every end every operation will not serve. That which doth assign unto each thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and measure, of working, that same we term a *Law*. So that no certain end could ever be attained, unless the actions whereby it is attained were regular; that is to say, made suitable, fit and correspondent unto their end, by some canon, rule or law. Which thing doth first take place in the works even of God himself.

[1.] All things therefore do work after a sort, according to law: all other things according to a law, whereof some superior, unto whom they are subject, is author; only the works and operations of God have Him both for their worker, and for the law whereby they are wrought. The being of God is a kind of law to his working: for that perfection which God is, giveth perfection to that he doth. Those natural, necessary, and internal operations of God, the Generation of the Son, the Proceeding of the Spirit, are without the compass of my present intent: which is to touch only such operations as have their beginning and being by a voluntary purpose, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when and how they should be. Which eternal decree is that we term an eternal law.

Dangerous it were for the feeble brain of man to wade far into the doings of the Most High; whom although to know be life, and joy to make mention of his name; yet our soundest knowledge is to know that we know him not as indeed he is, neither can know him: and our safest eloquence concerning him is our silence, when we confess without confession that his glory is inexplicable, his greatness above our capacity and reach¹. He is above, and we upon earth; therefore it becometh our words to be wary and few².

Our God is one, or rather very *Oneness*, and mere unity, having nothing but itself in itself, and not consisting (as all things do besides God) of many things. In which essential Unity of God a Trinity personal nevertheless subsisteth, after a manner far exceeding the possibility of man's conceit. The works which outwardly are of God, they are in such sort of Him being one, that each Person hath in them somewhat peculiar and proper. For being Three, and they all subsisting in the essence of one Deity; from the Father, by the Son, through the Spirit, all things are. That which the Son doth hear of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receive of the Father and the Son, the same we have at the hands of the Spirit as being the last, and therefore the nearest unto us in order, although in power the same with the second and the first³.

[3] The wise and learned among the very heathens themselves have all acknowledged some First Cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth. Neither have they otherwise spoken of that cause than as an Agent, which knowing *what* and *why* it worketh, observeth in working a most exact *order* or *law*. Thus much is signified by that which Homer mentioneth, Διὸς ἔ' ἠνελέϊστο βουλή⁴. Thus

¹ [“De quo nihil dici et exprimi
“mortalium potis est significacione
“verborum: qui, ut intelligatur, Διὸς ἔ' ἠνελέϊστο βουλή,.....
“facendum est; atque, ut per um-
“bram se possit erant investigare
“suspicio, nihil est omnino mani-
“festum.” Arnob. Adv. Gentem, l.
31. See Davison on Prophecy, p.
672, first edit.]
² [Eccles. v. 2.]
³ John xvi. 13-15. [Ὅσα δε
ἀλλή ἰσχύει, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,
καὶ ἀπογγελεῖ ὑμῖν, ἵνα οὐκ ἴδητε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀποστατή-
σαντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα κατὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς
ποιοῦν, ἵνα ἴσχητε τὸν υἱόν.]
⁴ Jupiter's counsel was accom-
plished. [Il. A. 5.]

BOOK I.
Ch. 8.2.
---+---
much acknowledged by Mercurius Trimegistus, *Τὸ πάντα εὐεργετῶν ἐπιήρησε δ' ἐπιμελεργὸν οὐ χερσίν ἀλλὰ λόγῳ*¹. Thus much confest by Anaxagoras and Plato, terming the Maker of the world an *intellectual Worker*². Finally the Stoics, although imagining the first cause of all things to be fire, held nevertheless, that the same fire having art, did *ὡς βουλόμενος ἐπὶ γενέσθαι κόσμον*³. They all confess therefore in the working of that first cause, that Counsel is used, Reason followed, a Way observed; that is to say, constant Order and Law is kept; whereof itself must needs be author unto itself. Otherwise it should have some worthier and higher to direct it, and so could not itself be the first. Being the first, it can have no other than itself to be the author of that law which it willingly worketh by.

God therefore is a law both to himself, and to all other things besides. To himself he is a law in all those things, whereof our Saviour speaketh, saying, "My Father worketh "as yet, so I"⁴. God worketh nothing without cause. All those things which are done by him have some end for which they are done; and the end for which they are done is a reason of his will to do them. His will had not inclined to create woman, but that he saw it could not be well if she were not created. *Non est hominem*, "It is not good man "should be alone; therefore let us make a helper for him"⁵. That and nothing else is done by God, which to leave undone were not so good.

If therefore it be demanded, why God having power and ability infinite, the effects notwithstanding of that power are all so limited as we see they are: the reason hereof is the end which he hath proposed, and the law whereby his wisdom hath stinted the effects of his power in such sort, that it doth not work infinitely, but correspondently unto that end for which it worketh, even "all things *χρηστῶν*"⁶.

¹ [C. 7. § 1.] The Creator made the whole world not with hands, but by reason. ² *Ἄλλα θεία ἔργον*. . . Ibid. p. 5.] Proceed by a certain and a set Way in the making of the world. ³ Stob. in Eclog. Phys. [This seems to refer to the following: *Ἀνοήτους, οὐκ εὐεργετῶν οὐκ ἐπιμελεργῶν*] *ἴσα θεῶν*. Stob. ed. Canter, p. 2: *Ἠθέριον . . . οὐκ ἐπιμελεργῶν*. . . *οὐκ ἐπιμελεργῶν*. Ibid. 5.] ⁴ John v. 17. ⁵ Gen. ii. 18. ⁶ *ἵνα ἕκαστον ἐκ τῶν κτισμάτων ἔσται ὡς ἔστιν ὁ θεός*. . . Ibid. p. 5.] ⁷ Sap. viii. 1; xi. 20.



"in most decent and comely sort," all things in "Measure, Number, and Weight." BOOK I.
CH. II. 4. 5.

[4.] The general end of God's external working is the exercise of his most glorious and most abundant virtue. Which abundance doth shew itself in variety, and for that cause this variety is oftentimes in Scripture express by the name of *riches*¹. "The Lord hath made all things for his "own sake"². Not that any thing is made to be beneficial unto him, but all things for him to shew beneficence and grace in them.

The particular drift of every act proceeding externally from God we are not able to discern, and therefore cannot always give the proper and certain reason of his works. Howbeit undoubtedly a proper and certain reason there is of every finite work of God, inasmuch as there is a law imposed upon it; which if there were not, it should be infinite, even as the worker himself is.

[5.] They err therefore who think that of the will of God to do this or that there is no reason besides his will. Many times no reason known to us; but that there is no reason thereof I judge it most unreasonable to imagine, inasmuch as he worketh all things *κατὰ τὴν βουλήν τοῦ θελήσαντος αὐτοῦ*, not only according to his own will, but "the Counsel of his "own will"³. And whatsoever is done with counsel or wise resolution hath of necessity some reason why it should be done, albeit that reason be to us in some things so secret, that it forceth the wit of man to stand, as the blessed Apostle himself doth, amazed thereat⁴: "O the depth of "the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how "unsearchable are his judgments," &c. That law eternal which God himself hath made to himself, and thereby worketh all things whereof he is the cause and author; that law in the admirable frame whereof shineth with most perfect beauty the countenance of that wisdom which hath testified concerning herself⁵, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of "his way, even before his works of old I was set up;" that law, which hath been the pattern to make, and is the card

¹ Ephes. i. 7; Phil. iv. 19; Col. ² Ephes. i. 11.
³ Prov. xvi. 4. ⁴ Rom. xi. 33.
⁵ Prov. viii. 22.

BOOK I. to guide the world by; that law which hath been of God
 Ch. II. & III. and with God everlastingly; that law, the author and ob-
 server whereof is one only God to be blessed for ever: how
 should either men or angels be able perfectly to behold?
 The book of this law we are neither able nor worthy to open
 and look into. That little thereof which we darkly appre-
 hend we admire, the rest with religious ignorance we humbly
 and meekly adore.

[5.] Seeing therefore that according to this law He worketh,
 "of whom, through whom, and for whom, are all things¹;"
 although there seem unto us confusion and disorder in the
 affairs of this present world: "Tamen quoniam bonus
 "mundum rector temperat, recte fieri cuncta ne dubites²;"
 "let no man doubt but that every thing is well done, because
 "the world is ruled by so good a guide," as transgresseth not
 His own law, than which nothing can be more absolute, per-
 fect, and just.

The law whereby He worketh is eternal, and therefore can
 have no show or colour of mutability: for which cause, a
 part of that law being opened in the promises which God
 hath made (because his promises are nothing else but de-
 clarations what God will do for the good of men) touching
 those promises the Apostle hath witnessed, that God may
 as possibly "deny himself³" and not be God, as fail to
 perform them. And concerning the counsel of God, he
 termeth it likewise a thing "unchangeable⁴," the counsel
 of God, and that law of God whereof now we speak, being
 one.

Nor is the freedom of the will of God any whit abated,
 let or hindered, by means of this; because the imposition
 of this law upon himself is his own free and voluntary act.

This law therefore we may name eternal, being "that
 "order which God before all ages hath set down with him-
 "self, for himself to do all things by."

The law which natu- III. I am not ignorant that by "law eternal" the learned
 ral agents have given for the most part do understand the order, not which God
 have given hath eternally purposed himself in all his works to observe,

¹ Rom. xi. 36. ² 2 Tim. ii. 13.
³ Boet. lib. iv. de Consol. Philos. ⁴ Heb. vi. 17.
 [p. 105, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1656.] pres. 5.

but rather that which with himself he hath set down as expedient to be kept by all his creatures, according to the several condition¹ wherewith he hath endued them. They who thus are accustomed to speak apply the name of Law unto that only rule of working which superior authority imposeth; whereas we somewhat more enlarging the sense thereof term any kind of rule or canon, whereby actions are framed, a law. Now that law which, as it is laid up in the bosom of God, they call *Eternal*, receiveth according unto the different kinds of things which are subject unto it different and sundry kinds of names. That part of it which ordereth natural agents we call usually *Nature's* law; that which Angels do clearly behold and without any swerving² observe is a law *Celestial* and heavenly; the law of *Reason*, that which bindeth creatures reasonable in this world, and with which by reason they may most plainly perceive themselves bound; that which bindeth them, and is not known but by special revelation from God, *Divine* law; *Human* law, that which out of the law either of reason or of God men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a law. All things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed unto *this second law eternal*; and even those things which to this eternal law are not conformable are notwithstanding in some sort ordered by *the first eternal law*. For what good or evil is there under the sun, what action correspondent or repugnant unto the law which God hath imposed upon his creatures, but in or upon it God doth work according to the law which himself hath eternally proposed to keep; that is to say, the *first law eternal*! So that a twofold law eternal being thus made, it is not hard to conceive how they both take place in all things³.

¹ [So edd. A, B, "conditiona," K.]
² [Uniformly written "swarve" in the early edd.]
³ "Id omne, quod in rebus creatis fit, est materia legis aeternae." Th. I. 1. 2. q. 93. art. 4. 5. 6. [Ikon. Aquin. Opp. si. 102.] "Nullo modo aliquid legibus summi Creatoris ordinationique subtrahitur, a quo pax universitatis administratur." August. de Civit. Dei. lib. xix. cap. 12. [s. VII. 556.] Immo et peccatum, quatenus a Deo jure permittitur, cadit in legem aeternam. Etiam legi aeternae subjicitur peccatum, quatenus voluntaria legis transgressio personale quoddam incommodum animae inserit, juxta illud Augustini, "Jussisti Domine, et sic esse, ut poena sua sibi sit omnis animus inordinatus." Confess. lib. 1. cap. 12. [s. 1. 27.] "Ne male scholarum," "Quemadmodum," inquam,

BOOK I. [2.] Whereof' to come to the law of nature: albeit
 Ch. III. x. thereby we sometimes mean that manner of working which
 God hath set for each created thing to keep; yet forasmuch
 as those things are termed most properly natural agents,
 which keep the law of their kind unwittingly, as the
 heavens and elements of the world, which can do no other-
 wise than they do; and forasmuch as we give unto intel-
 lectual natures the name of *Voluntary* agents, that so we
 may distinguish them from the other; expedient it will be,
 that we sever the law of nature observed by the one from
 that which the other is tied unto. Touching the former, their
 strict keeping of one tenure, statute, and law, is spoken of by
 all, but hath in it more than men have as yet attained to
 know, or perhaps ever shall attain, seeing the travail of wading
 herein is given of God to the sons of men¹, that perceiving
 how much the least thing in the world hath in it more
 than the wisest are able to reach unto, they may by this
 means learn humility. Moses, in describing the work of
 creation, attributeth speech unto God: "God said, Let there
 "be light: let there be a firmament: let the waters under
 "the heaven be gathered together into one place: let the
 "earth bring forth: let there be lights in the firmament of
 "heaven." Was this only the intent of Moses, to signify
 the infinite greatness of God's power by the easiness of his
 accomplishing such effects, without travail, pain, or labour?
 Surely it seemeth that Moses had herein besides this a further
 purpose, namely, first to teach that God did not work as a

¹ "videmus res naturales contingen-
 "tes, hoc ipso quod a fine particulari
 "suo atque ad rem a lege aeterna exorbi-
 "tant, in eandem legem aeternam in-
 "cidere, quatenus consequuntur a-
 "lium finem a lege etiam aeterna ipais
 "in casu particulari constitutum; sic
 "verisimile est homines, etiam cum
 "peccant et desiciunt a lege aeterna
 "ut precipiente, rescindere in ordi-
 "nem aeternae legis ut possentis."
 [Eccles. III. 9. to: "I have
 "seen the travail which God hath
 "given to the sons of men to be
 "exercised in it. He hath made
 "every thing beautiful in his time:
 "also he hath set the world in their
 "heart, so that no man can find

"out the work that God maketh
 "from the beginning to the end."
 Compare the use which Lord
 Bacon has made of the same
 text, *Advancement of Learning*,
 b. ii: "Knowledges are as pyramids,
 "whereof history is the basis. So
 "of natural philosophy, the basis is
 "natural history; the stage next the
 "basis is physic; the stage next
 "the vertical point is metaphysic."
 "As for the vertical point, *Opus*,
 "quod operatur Deus a principio
 "usque ad finem, the summary law
 "of nature, we know not whether
 "man's inquiry can attain unto
 "it." Works, I. p. 104. 8vo. Lon-
 don, 1803.]

necessary but a voluntary agent, intending beforehand and decreeing with himself that which did outwardly proceed from him: secondly, to shew that God did then institute a law natural to be observed by creatures, and therefore according to the manner of laws, the institution thereof is described, as being established by solemn injunction. His commanding those things to be which are, and to be in such sort as they are, to keep that tenure and course which they do, importeth the establishment of nature's law. This world's first creation, and the preservation since of things created, what is it but only so far forth a manifestation by execution, what the eternal law of God is concerning things natural? And as it cometh to pass in a kingdom rightly ordered, that after a law is once published, it presently takes effect far and wide, all states framing themselves thereunto; even so let us think it fareth in the natural course of the world: since the time that God did first proclaim the edicts of his law upon it, heaven and earth have hearkened unto his voice, and their labour hath been to do his will: He "made a law for "the rain";" He gave his "decree unto the sea, that the "waters should not pass his commandment";" Now if nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether though it were but for a while the observation of her own laws; if those principal and mother elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, should lose the qualities which now they have; if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads should loosen and dissolve itself; if celestial spheres should forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubility turn themselves any way as it might happen; if the prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course³, should as it were through a languishing faintness begin to stand and to rest himself; if the moon should wander from her beaten way, the times and seasons of the year blend themselves by disordered and confused mixture, the winds breathe out their last gasp, the clouds yield no rain, the earth be defeated of heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth pine away as children at the withered breasts of their mother no longer

¹ [Job xxviii. 26.]² [Jer. v. 22.]³ Psalm xix. 5.

capacity and understanding. But howsoever these swerings are now and then incident into the course of nature, nevertheless so constantly the laws of nature are by natural agents observed, that no man denieth but those things which nature worketh are wrought, either always or for the most part, after one and the same manner¹.

[4.] If here it be demanded what that is which keepeth nature in obedience to her own law, we must have recourse to that higher law whereof we have already spoken, and because all other laws do thereon depend, from thence we must borrow so much as shall need for brief resolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as some are, that nature in working hath before her certain exemplary draughts or patterns, which subsisting in the bosom of the Highest, and being thence discovered, she fixeth her eye upon them, as travellers by sea upon the pole-star of the world, and that according thereunto she guideth her hand to work by imitation: although we rather embrace the oracle of Hippocrates², that "each thing both "in small and in great fulfilleth the task which destiny "hath set down;" and concerning the manner of executing and fulfilling the same, "what they do they know not, yet "is it in show and appearance as though they did know "what they do; and the truth is they do not discern the "things which they look on:" nevertheless, forasmuch as the works of nature are no less exact, than if she did both behold and study how to express some absolute shape or mirror always present before her; yea, such her dexterity and skill appeareth, that no intellectual creature in the world were able by capacity to do that which nature doth without capacity and knowledge; it cannot be but nature hath some director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her ways. Who the guide of nature, but only the God of nature? "In him we live, move, and are"³. Those things which nature is said to do, are by divine art performed,

¹ Arist. Rhet. l. cap. 30. [ἡ φύσις, ἢ ἡ πρὸ φύσεως ἐξ ὑποθέσεως. [p. 342, ed. Geneva, 1657. It need
² The *επιφανέστερον ποιεῖται* *ἀποφύγει* hardly be observed, that the beginning of the sentence alludes to
³ *ὁ θεὸς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ δύναμις* . . . ἡ ἐπιφανέστερον οὐκ ἀλλοίωσι, Plato's doctrine.]
⁴ *ὁ θεὸς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ δύναμις*. Acts xvii. 28.
 VOL. I.



210 *Providence, Destiny, Nature, are names for God's Law.*

BOOK I.
Ch. II. 4.

using nature as an instrument; nor is there any such art or knowledge divine in nature herself working, but in the Guide of nature's work.

Whereas therefore things natural which are not in the number of voluntary agents, (for of such only we now speak, and of no other,) do so necessarily observe their certain laws, that as long as they keep those forms¹ which give them their being, they cannot possibly be apt or inclinable to do otherwise than they do; seeing the kinds of their operations are both constantly and exactly framed according to the several ends for which they serve, they themselves in the meanwhile, though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they do, nor why: it followeth that all which they do in this sort proceedeth originally from some such agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth up, and even actually frameth the same.

The manner of this divine efficiency, being far above us, we are no more able to conceive by our reason than creatures unreasonable by their sense are able to apprehend after what manner we dispose and order the course of our affairs. Only thus much is discerned, that the natural generation and process of all things receiveth order of proceeding from the settled stability of divine understanding. This appointeth unto them their kinds of working; the disposition whereof in the purity of God's own knowledge and will is rightly termed by the name of Providence. The same being referred unto the things themselves here disposed by it, was wont by the ancient to be called natural Destiny. That law, the performance whereof we behold in things natural, is as it were an authentical or an original draught written in the bosom of God himself; whose Spirit being to execute the same useth every particular nature, every mere natural agent, only as an instrument created at the beginning, and ever since the beginning used, to work his own will and pleasure withal. Nature therefore is nothing else but God's instrument²; in the course whereof Dionysius perceiveth

¹ Form in other creatures is a diversity of inward forms, things of thing proportionable unto the soul the world are distinguished into living creatures. Sensible it is their kinds, not, nor otherwise discernible than
² Vide Thom. in Compend. Theol. cap. 3. "Omne quod movetur ab
sely by effects. According to the

some sudden disturbance is said to have cried out, "Aut
"Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina dissolvetur¹;"
"either God doth suffer impediment, and is by a greater than
"himself hindered; or if that be impossible, then hath he
"determined to make a present dissolution of the world; the
"execution of that law beginning now to stand still, without
"which the world cannot stand."

This workman, whose servitor nature is, being in truth but
only one, the heathens imagining to be moe, gave him in the
sky the name of Jupiter, in the air the name of Juno, in the
water the name of Neptune, in the earth the name of Vesta
and sometimes of Ceres, the name of Apollo in the sun, in the
moon the name of Diana, the name of Æolus and divers
other in the winds; and to conclude, even so many guides of
nature they dreamed of, as they saw there were kinds of
things natural in the world. These they honoured, as having
power to work or cease accordingly as men deserved of them.
But unto us there is one only² Guide of all agents natural,
and he both the Creator and the Worker of all in all, alone to
be blessed, adored and honoured by all for ever.

[5.] That which hitherto hath been spoken concerneth
natural agents considered in themselves. But we must
further remember also, (which thing to touch in a word shall
suffice,) that as in this respect they have their law, which
law directeth them in the means whereby they tend to their
own perfection; so likewise another law there is, which
toucheth them as they are sociable parts united into one
body; a law which bindeth them each to serve unto other's
good, and all to prefer the good of the whole before what-
soever their own particular; as we plainly see they do, when
things natural in that regard forget their ordinary natural
wont; that which is heavy mounting sometime upwards of

"aliquo est quasi instrumentum
"quoddam primi moventis. Rudi-
"cium est autem, etiam apud in-
"doctos, ponere, instrumentum mo-
"venti non ab aliquo principali
"agente." [i. xvii. fol. 10.]
"Dionysius... unus ex Areopagitis
"... cum adhaec in Genesioticis errore
"versaretur, eo die quo Christus
"Dominus cruci affixus est, solem
"præter naturam defecisse animad-
"vertens, exclamasse traditur: 'aut
"Deus, &c.'" Suidas (in Dionysio)
makes him say, 'H εἰ θεὸς ἐλάττει,
ἢ ἐγὼ ἀναστρέψω τὸν κόσμον.' Michael
Syngelus in Economicis: 'Ὁ δὲ ποσει-
δων, ἄνευ ἐπιπέσει τοῦ θεοῦ. Apud
Opp. S. Dionys. II. 213. See also,
P. 91. 213-219.)
² [Suggested by 1 Cor. viii. 6.
θεὸς εἰς θεοῦ, ἢ Πάτερ.]

BOOK I.
Ch. II. 5.



BOOK I. it¹ own accord, and forsaking the centre of the earth which
 Ch. IV. s. to itself is most natural, even as if it did hear itself commanded
 ----- to let go the good it privately wisheth, and to relieve the
 present distress of nature in common.

The law which angels do work by. IV. But now that we may lift up our eyes (as it were) from the footstool to the throne of God, and leaving these natural, consider a little the state of heavenly and divine creatures: touching Angels, which are spirits² immaterial and intellectual, the glorious inhabitants of those sacred palaces, where nothing but light and blessed immortality, no shadow of matter for tears, discontents, griefs, and uncomfortable passions to work upon, but all joy, tranquillity, and peace, even for ever and ever doth dwell: as in number and order they are huge, mighty, and royal armies³, so likewise in perfection of obedience unto that law, which the Highest, whom they adore, love, and imitate, hath imposed upon them, such observants they are thereof, that our Saviour himself being to set down the perfect *idea* of that which we are to pray and wish for on earth, did not teach to pray or wish for more than only that here it might be with us, as with them it is in heaven⁴. God which moveth mere natural agents as an efficient only, doth otherwise move intellectual creatures, and especially his holy angels: for beholding the face of God⁵, in admiration of so great excellency they all adore him; and being rapt with the love of his beauty, they cleave inseparably for ever unto him. Desire to resemble him in goodness maketh them unwearable and even unsatiated in their longing to do by all means all manner good unto all the creatures of God⁶, but especially unto the children of

¹ [So all the early edd. On *It*, possessive, v. Morris, Spec. Early English, p. xxxi.] 1886. ² Psalm civ. 4; Heb. i. 7; Ephes. iii. 10.

³ Dan. vii. 10; Matt. xxvi. 53; Heb. xii. 22; Luke ii. 13.

⁴ Matt. vi. 10. ⁵ Matt. xviii. 10.

⁶ [How oft do they their silver bowers leave,
 To come to succour us, that succour want!
 How oft do they with golden pinions cleave
 The fitting skies, like flying pursuivants,
 Against foul fends to aid us militant!
 They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,
 And their bright squadrons round about us plant,
 And all for love, and nothing for reward—
 O why should heavenly God to men have such regard?]
 Fairy Queen, II. viii. 2. The three first books of the Fairy Queen were published 1590. Spenser died 1598.]

men¹; in the countenance of whose nature, looking downward, they behold themselves beneath themselves; even as upward, in God, beneath whom themselves are, they see that character which is no where but in themselves and us resembled. Thus far even the paynims have approached; thus far they have seen into the doings of the angels of God; Orpheus confessing, that "the fiery throne of God is attended "on by those most industrious angels, careful how all things "are performed amongst men²," and the Mirror of human wisdom plainly teaching, that God moveth angels, even as that thing doth stir man's heart, which is thereunto presented amiable³. Angelical actions may therefore be reduced unto these three general kinds: first, most delectable love arising from the visible apprehension of the purity, glory, and beauty of God, invisible saving only unto spirits that are pure⁴; secondly, adoration grounded upon the evidence of the greatness of God, on whom they see how all things depend⁵; thirdly, imitation⁶, bred by the presence of his exemplary goodness, who ceaseth not before them daily to fill heaven and earth with the rich treasures of most free and undeserved grace.

BOOK I.
Ch. ix. 2.

[2.] Of angels, we are not to consider only what they are and do in regard of their own being, but that also which concerneth them as they are linked into a kind of corporation amongst themselves, and of society or fellowship with men. Consider angels each of them severally in himself, and their law is that which the prophet David mentioneth, "All ye "his angels praise him⁷." Consider the angels of God associated, and their law is that which disposeth them as an army, one in order and degree above another⁸. Consider finally the angels as having with us that communion which the apostle to the Hebrews noteth, and in regard whereof

¹ Psalm xli. 11, 12; Luke xv. 7; Heb. i. 14; Acts x. 3; Dan. ix. 23; Matt. xviii. 10; Dan. iv. 13. ² *ἄγγελοι, οὗτοι πόδας θρονού σου ἐπιπέτουν.* ³ *Ἄγγελος, οὗτος πόδας θρονού σου ἐπιπέτουν.* (Fragm. iii. ex Clem. Alex. Strom. V. p. 824, 8 = 724. Potter.) ⁴ Arist. Metaph. i. xlii, c. 7. [⁵ Movet. ut amatum: moto vero, "alia movetur" Ap. Thom. Aquin. t. IV. fol. 199, ed. Venet. 1593.] ⁶ Job xxxviii. 7; Matt. xviii. 10. ⁷ Psalm cxlviii. 2; Heb. i. 6; Isa. xli. 3. ⁸ This is intimated wheresoever we find them termed "the sons of "God," as Job i. 6, and xxxviii. 7. ⁹ Ps. cxlviii. 2. ¹⁰ Luke ii. 13. Matt. xxvi. 53.

BOOK I.
CH. IV. 3
angels have not disdained to profess themselves our "fellow-servants," from hence there springeth up a third law, which bindeth them to works of ministerial employment¹. Every of which their several functions are by them performed with joy.

[3.] A part of the angels of God notwithstanding (we know) have fallen², and that their fall hath been through the voluntary breach of that law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exercise of their high and admirable virtue. Impossible it was that ever their will should change³ or incline to remit any part of their duty, without some object having force to avert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attained that high perfection of bliss, wherein now the elect angels⁴ are without possibility of falling. Of any thing more than of God they could not by any means like, as long as whatsoever they knew besides God they apprehended it not in itself without dependency upon God; because so long God must needs seem infinitely better than any thing which they so could apprehend. Things beneath them could not in such sort be presented unto their eyes, but that therein they must needs see always how those things did depend on God. It seemeth therefore that there was no other way for angels to sin, but by reflex of their understanding upon themselves; when being held with admiration of their own sublimity and honour, the memory of their subordination unto God and their dependency on him was drowned in this conceit; whereupon their adoration, love, and imitation of God could not choose but be also interrupted. The fall of angels therefore was pride⁵. Since their fall, their practices have been the clean contrary unto those before mentioned⁶. For being dis-

¹ Heb. xii. 22; Apoc. xxii. 9. ² 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6. ³ [1 Tim. v. 21.]

⁴ [2] But pride, impatient of long resting peace.

⁵ Did puff them up with greedy bold ambition,

⁶ That they got cast their state how to increase

⁷ Above the fortune of their first condition,

⁸ And sit in God's own seat without commission:

⁹ The brightest angel, even the child of light,

¹⁰ Drew millions more against their God to fight."

Spenser's Hymn on Heavenly Love, published 1596.]

¹¹ John viii. 44; 1 Pet. v. 8; Apoc. ix. 11; Gen. iii. 15; 1 Chron. xxi. 1;

Job i. 7. and ii. 2; John xiii. 27; Act. v. 3; Apoc. xx. 8.

persed, some in the air, some on the earth, some in the water, some among the minerals, dens, and caves, that are under the earth; they have by all means laboured to effect an universal rebellion against the laws, and as far as in them lieth utter destruction of the works of God. These wicked spirits the heathens honoured instead of gods, both generally under the name of *Dii inferi*, "gods infernal;" and particularly, some in oracles, some in idols, some as household gods, some as nymphs: in a word, no foul and wicked spirit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till such time as light appeared in the world and dissolved the works of the devil. Thus much therefore may suffice for angels, the next unto whom in degree are men.

V. God alone excepted, who actually and everlastingly is whatsoever he may be, and which cannot hereafter be that which now he is not¹; all other things besides are somewhat in possibility, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cause there is in all things an appetite or desire, whereby they incline to something which they may be; and when they are it, they shall be perfecter than now they are. All which perfections are contained under the general name of Goodness. And because there is not in the world any thing whereby another may not some way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good.

[a] Again, sith there can be no goodness desired which proceedeth not from God himself, as from the supreme cause of all things; and every effect doth after a sort contain, at leastwise resemble, the cause from which it proceedeth: all things in the world are said in some sort to seek the highest, and to covet more or less the participation of God himself². Yet this doth no where so much appear as it doth in man, because there are so many kinds of perfections which man seeketh. The first degree of goodness is that general perfection which all things do seek, in desiring the continuance of their being. All things therefore coveting as much as may be to be like unto God in being ever, that which cannot here-

¹ ["Let him know, that I have "him." Walton's Life of Herbert, considered, that God only is what p. 321, ed. 1675.]
² He would be, and that I am by ³ Hiero. *vita deusum desidero.*
⁴ his grace become now so like him, Arist. de An. lib. ii. cap. 4. [Opp. l. 1.]
⁵ as to be pleased with what pleaseth. 390. ed. Lugd. 1590.]

BOOK I.
 Ch. v. l. 6
 ———
 The law
 whereby
 man is in
 his actions
 directed to
 the imita-
 tion of
 God.

VI. In the matter of knowledge, there is between the angels of God and the children of men this difference: angels already have full and complete knowledge in the highest degree that can be imparted unto them; men, if we view them in their spring, are at the first without understanding or knowledge at all¹. Nevertheless from this utter vacuity they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be even as the angels themselves are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other shall attain unto in the end; they are not so far disjointed and severed, but that they come at length to meet. The soul of man being therefore at the first as a book, wherein nothing is and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to search by what steps and degrees it riseth unto perfection of knowledge.

BOOK I.
Ch. vi. v. 2
Men's first
beginning
to grow
to the
knowledge
of that law
which they
are to
observe.

[2.] Unto that which hath been already set down concerning natural agents this we must add, that albeit therein we have comprised as well creatures living as void of life, if they be in degree of nature beneath men; nevertheless a difference we must observe between those natural agents that work altogether unwittingly, and those which have though weak yet some understanding what they do, as fishes, fowls, and beasts have. Beasts are in sensible capacity as ripe even as men themselves, perhaps more ripe. For as stones, though in dignity of nature inferior unto plants, yet exceed them in firmness of strength or durability of being; and plants, though beneath the excellency of creatures endued with sense, yet exceed them in the faculty of vegetation and of fertility: so beasts, though otherwise behind men, may notwithstanding in actions of sense and fancy go beyond them; because the endeavours of nature, when it hath a higher perfection to seek, are in lower the more remiss, not esteeming thereof so much as those things do, which have no better proposed unto them.

[3.] The soul of man therefore being capable of a more divine perfection, hath (besides the faculties of growing unto sensible knowledge which is common unto us with beasts) a further ability, whereof in them there is no show at all, the ability of reaching higher than unto sensible things². Till

¹ Vide Isa. vii. 16. ἀγγέλους, καὶ ἄνθρωποι αἰσίου, καὶ οὐδὲν
² Ὁ δὲ ἀδύνατος εἰς τὴν αἰσίου νόον πρὸς τὴν αἰσίου [ἴδ. αἰσίου]



BOOK I.
CH. VI. 4.

we grow to some ripeness of years, the soul of man doth only store itself with conceits of things of inferior and more open quality, which afterwards do serve as instruments unto that which is greater; in the meanwhile above the reach of meaner creatures it ascendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing above this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradictions in speech, we then count it to have some use of natural reason. Whereunto if afterwards there might be added the right helps of true art and learning (which helps, I must plainly confess, this age of the world, carrying the name of a learned age, doth neither much know nor greatly regard), there would undoubtedly be almost as great difference in maturity of judgment between men therewith inured, and that which now men are, as between men that are now and innocents. Which speech if any condemn, as being over hyperbolical, let them consider but this one thing. No art is at the first finding out so perfect as industry may after make it. Yet the very first man that to any purpose knew the way we speak of¹ and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more very near in all parts of natural knowledge, than sithence in any one part thereof the whole world besides hath done.

[4.] In the poverty of that other new devised aid² two

ἑξήκοντα, πέντε ἢ ἑξήκοντα, καὶ εἰς ἑξήκοντα
πέντε ἀποδείξει ποσότητες. Καὶ εἰς ἑξήκοντα
πέντε ποσότητες, εἰς τὴν ἑξήκοντα ἀποδείξει
ἑξήκοντα ποσότητες. Merc. Tris. [c. 10 fin.]
lib. iv. f. 12.

¹ Aristotelical Demonstration.

² Ramistry. [Peter Ramus was born in Picardy, 1515. He was a kind of self-taught person, who rose to eminence in the university of Paris. In 1543, he published "Institutiones Dialecticæ," and about the same time "Animadversiones Aristotelicæ." He was silenced after disputation, but allowed the next year to lecture in Rhetoric, and in 1552 was made Professor of Eloquence and Philosophy, probably through the Cardinal of Lorraine's influence. In 1562 he was ejected, and continued more or less unsettled till 1572, when he lost his life in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. (Brocker, Hist. Phil. v. 348-385.)

Lips. 1766.] Strype, Ann. III. i. 200, 227, "About this time (1583) and somewhat before, another great contest arose in both universities, concerning the two philosophers, Aristotle and Ramus, then chiefly read, and which of them was rather to be studied." See also Ann. II. ii. 405. (1580.) Everard Digby had writ somewhat "dialogue-wise against Ramus's *Utriusque Methodus*, which in those times prevailed much; and perhaps brought into that college (St. John's, Cambridge) to be read; the rather, Ramus being a protestant as well as a learned man." His institutes of Logic, expanded and illustrated, may be seen in Milton's *Prose Works*, by Symonds, VI. 192-213. He seems to have fallen into the common error of confounding rhetorical arrangement with logic. Of the value of his

things there are notwithstanding singular. Of marvellous quick despatch it is, and doth shew them that have it as much almost in three days, as if it dwell threescore years with them. Again, because the curiosity of man's wit doth many times with peril wade farther in the search of things than were convenient; the same is thereby restrained unto such generalities as every where offering themselves are apparent unto men of the weakest conceit that need be. So as following the rules and precepts thereof, we may define it to be, an Art which teacheth the way of speedy discourse, and restraineth the mind of man that it may not wax over-wise.

[5] Education and instruction are the means, the one by use, the other by precept, to make our natural faculty of reason both the better and the sooner able to judge rightly between truth and error, good and evil. But at what time a man may be said to have attained so far forth the use of reason, as sufficeth to make him capable of those Laws, whereby he is then bound to guide his actions; this is a great deal more easy for common sense to discern, than for any man by skill and learning to determine; even as it is not in philosophers, who best know the nature both of fire and of gold, to teach what degree of the one will serve to purify the other, so well as the artisan, who doth this by fire, discerneth by sense when the fire hath that degree of heat which sufficeth for his purpose.

VII. By reason man attaineth unto the knowledge of such things that are and are not sensible. It resteth therefore that we search how man attaineth unto the knowledge of such things unsensible as are to be known that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can move unless there be

theory the following was Bacon's opinion: "De Unica Methodo, et dicere; fuit enim mabeacula quaedam doctrinae, quae cito transitur res simul et levis et scientiis damnoissimas. Etenim hujusmodi homines, cum methodi suae legibus res torquent, et quaecumque in dichotomias illas non apte cadunt, aut omittunt, aut praeter naturam infectant, hoc efficiunt, ut quasi nuclei et grana scientiarum exsiliant, ipsi aristas tantum

"et desertas siliquas stringant." Further on in the same chapter he specifies Ramus as the patron of the method alluded to. De Augm. Scient. VI. 2. In his Insuper Philosophici, c. 2, he says, "Nullum mihi commercium cum hoc ignorantiae hilibulo, perniciosissima litterarum sinea, compendiosam patre," &c. Works, IX. 304. Lond. 1803. Andrew Meivon was a pupil of Ramus. Zouch's Walton, II. 134.]

BOOK I.
Ch. vi. §
vii. 5.

BOOK I. some end, the desire whereof provoketh unto motion; how
 CH. VI. 4. should that divine power of the soul, that "spirit of our
 ----- "mind"¹, as the apostle termeth it, ever stir itself unto
 action, unless it have also the like spur? The end for which
 we are moved to work, is sometimes the goodness which we
 conceive of the very working itself, without any further
 respect at all; and the cause that procureth action is the
 mere desire of action, no other good besides being thereby
 intended. Of certain turbulent wits it is said, "Illis quæta
 "movere magna merces videbatur"², they thought the very
 disturbance of things established an hire sufficient to set
 them on work. Sometimes that which we do is referred to a
 further end, without the desire whereof we would leave the
 same undone; as in their actions that gave alms to purchase
 thereby the praise of men³.

[2.] Man in perfection of nature being made according to
 the likeness of his Maker resembleth him also in the manner
 of working; so that whatsoever we work as men, the same
 we do wittingly work and freely; neither are we according to
 the manner of natural agents any way so tied, but that it is
 in our power to leave the things we do undone. The good
 which either is gotten by doing, or which consisteth in the
 very doing itself, causeth not action, unless apprehending it
 as good we so like and desire it: that we do unto any such
 end, the same we choose and prefer before the leaving of it
 undone. Choice there is not, unless the thing which we
 take be so in our power that we might have refused and left
 it. If fire consume the stubble, it chooseth not so to do,
 because the nature thereof is such that it can do no other.
 To choose is to will one thing before another. And to will
 is to bend our souls to the having or doing of that which
 they see to be good. Goodness is seen with the eye of the
 understanding. And the light of that eye, is reason. So
 that two principal fountains there are of human action,
 Knowledge and Will; which Will, in things tending towards
 any end, is termed Choice⁴. Concerning Knowledge, "Be-
 "hold, (saith Moses⁵;) I have set before you this day good
 "and evil, life and death." Concerning Will, he addeth

¹ Eph. iv. 23. ² Sallust. (Cat. 21.) ³ Matt. vi. 2.
⁴ [See Arist. Eth. III. 2, 3. VI. 2.] ⁵ Deut. xxx. 19.

immediately, "Choose life;" that is to say, the things that tend unto life, them choose. BOOK I.
CH. VI. 3

[3.] But of one thing we must have special care, as being a matter of no small moment; and that is, how the Will, properly and strictly taken, as it is of things which are referred unto the end that man desireth, differeth greatly from that inferior natural desire which we call Appetite. The object of Appetite is whatsoever sensible good may be wished for; the object of Will is that good which Reason doth lead us to seek. Affections, as joy, and grief, and fear, and anger, with such like, being as it were the sundry fashions and forms of Appetite, can neither rise at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet choose but rise at the sight of some things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be stirred with affections or no: whereas actions which issue from the disposition of the Will are in the power thereof to be performed or stayed. Finally, Appetite is the Will's solicitor, and the Will is Appetite's controller; what we covet according to the one by the other we often reject; neither is any other desire termed properly Will, but that where Reason and Understanding, or the show of Reason, prescribeth the thing desired.

It may be therefore a question, whether those operations of men are to be counted voluntary, wherein that good which is sensible provoketh Appetite, and Appetite causeth action, Reason being never called to counsel; as when we eat or drink, and betake ourselves unto rest, and such like. The truth is, that such actions in men having attained to the use of Reason are voluntary. For as the authority of higher powers hath force even in those things, which are done without their privity, and are of so mean reckoning that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not; in like sort, voluntarily we are said to do that also, which the Will if it listed might hinder from being done, although about the doing thereof we do not expressly use our reason or understanding, and so immediately apply our wills thereunto. In cases therefore of such facility, the Will doth yield her assent as it were with a kind of silence, by not dissenting; in which respect her force is not so apparent as in express mandates or prohibitions, especially upon advice and consultation going before.

BOOK I. [4.] Where understanding therefore needeth, in those things Reason is the director of man's Will by discovering in action what is good. For the Laws of well-doing are the dictates of right Reason. Children, which are not as yet come unto those years whereat they may have; again, innocents, which are excluded by natural defect from ever having; thirdly, madmen, which for the present cannot possibly have the use of right Reason to guide themselves, have for their guide the Reason that guideth other men, which are tutors over them to seek and to procure their good for them. In the rest there is that light of Reason, whereby good may be known from evil, and which discovering the same rightly is termed right.

[5.] The Will notwithstanding doth not incline to have or do that which Reason teacheth to be good, unless the same do also teach it to be possible. For albeit the Appetite, being more general, may wish any thing which seemeth good, be it never so impossible¹; yet for such things the reasonable Will of man doth never seek. Let Reason teach impossibility in any thing, and the Will of man doth let it go; a thing impossible it doth not affect, the impossibility thereof being manifest.

[6.] There is in the Will of man naturally that freedom, whereby it is apt to take or refuse any particular object whatsoever being presented unto it². Whereupon it followeth,

¹ O mihi preteritos referat si Jupiter annos [Virg. *Æn.* vii. 560.]
² [Chr. Letter, p. 11.] "Hence we pray your helpe to teach us, how will is apt (as you say) freele to take or refuse any particular object whatsoever, and that reason by diligence is able to find out any good concerning us: if it be true that the Church of England professeth, that without the preventing and helping grace of God, we can will and doe nothing pleasing to God."
 Hooker, MS. note. "There are certaine wordes, as Nature, Reason, Will, and such like, which whatsoever you find named, you suspect them presently as bags
 "wordes", because what they mean you do not indeed as you ought apprehend. You have heard that man's Nature is corrupt, his Reason blind, his Will perverse. Whereupon under colour of condemning corrupt Nature, you condemn Nature, and so in the rest."
 "Vide Hillarium, p. 31." (Ed. Basil. 1570; p. 822. ed. Bened.)
 "Vide et Philon. p. 33." (Ed. Paris, 1521.) "et Dionys. p. 338." (Par. 1562.)
 "Voluntas hominis natura sua non ligatur, sed vi vitiositatis que nature accessit."
 "Apti originaliter apti, apte Ratio divinis instructa auxiliis potest omne bonum necessarium invenire."
 ["These are bags words." Bacon, and Fletch, *Tamer tamed*, Act. I. Sc. 3.]

BOOK I
Ch. vii. 2.

persuasion what way soever. Reason therefore may rightly discern the thing which is good, and yet the Will of man not incline itself thereunto, as oft as the prejudice of sensible experience doth oversway.

[7.] Nor let any man think that this doth make any thing for the just excuse of iniquity. For there was never sin committed, wherein a less good was not preferred before a greater, and that wilfully; which cannot be done without the singular disgrace of Nature, and the utter disturbance of that divine order, whereby the preeminence of chiefest acceptation is by the best things worthily challenged. There is not that good which concerneth us, but it hath evidence enough for itself, if Reason were diligent to search it out. Through neglect thereof, abused we are with the show of that which is not; sometimes the subtilty of Satan inveigling us as it did Eve¹; sometimes the hastiness of our Wills preventing the more considerate advice of sound Reason, as in the Apostles², when they no sooner saw what they liked not, but they forthwith were desirous of fire from heaven; sometimes the very custom of evil making the heart obdurate against whatsoever instructions to the contrary, as in them over whom our Saviour spake weeping³, "O Jerusalem, how often, and "thou wouldest not!" Still therefore that wherewith we stand blameable, and can no way excuse it, is, In doing evil, we prefer a less good before a greater, the greatness whereof is by reason investigable and may be known. The search of knowledge is a thing painful; and the painfulness of knowledge is that which maketh the Will so hardly inclinable thereunto. The root hereof, divine malediction; whereby the instruments⁴ being weakened wherewithal the soul (especially in reasoning) doth work, it preferreth rest in ignorance before wearisome labour to know. For a spur of diligence therefore we have a natural thirst after knowledge ingrafted in us. But by reason of that original weakness in the instruments, without which the understanding part is not

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 3. ² Luke ix. 54. ³ can we discern the things that are
⁴ Matt. xxiii. 37. ⁵ upon earth, and with great labour
⁶ "A corruptible body is heavy ⁷ find we out the things which are
"unto the soul, and the earthly ⁸ before us. Who can then seek
"mansions keepeth down the mind ⁹ out the things that are in heaven?"
"that is full of cares. And hardly ¹⁰ Sap. ix. 15, 16.

able in this world by discourse to work, the very conceit of painfulness is as a bridle to stay us. For which cause the Apostle, who knew right well that the weariness of the flesh is an heavy clog to the Will, striketh mightily upon this key, "Awake thou that sleepest; Cast off all which presseth down; Watch; Labour; Strive to go forward, and to grow in knowledge".

VIII. Wherefore to return to our former intent of discovering the natural way, whereby rules have been found out concerning that goodness wherewith the Will of man ought to be moved in human actions; as every thing naturally and necessarily doth desire the utmost good and greatest perfection whereof Nature hath made it capable, even so man. Our felicity therefore being the object and accomplishment of our desire, we cannot choose but wish and covet it. All particular things which are subject unto action, the Will doth so far forth incline unto, as Reason judgeth them the better for us, and consequently the more available to our bliss. If Reason err, we fall into evil, and are so far forth deprived of the general perfection we seek. Seeing therefore that for the framing of men's actions the knowledge of good from evil is necessary, it only resteth that we search how this may be had. Neither must we suppose that there needeth one rule to know the good and another the evil by¹. For he that knoweth what is straight doth even thereby discern what is crooked, because the absence of straightness in bodies capable thereof is crookedness. Goodness in actions is like unto straightness; wherefore that which is done well we term *right*. For as the straight way is most acceptable to him that travelleth, because by it he cometh soonest to his journey's end; so in action, that which doth lie the evenest between us and the end we desire must needs be the fittest for our use. Besides which fitness for use, there is also in rectitude, beauty; as contrariwise in obliquity, deformity. And that which is good in the actions of men, doth not only delight as profitable, but as amiable also. In which consideration the Grecians most divinely have given to the active perfection of

BOOK I.
Ch. viii. 1.
Of the natural way of finding out Laws by Reason to guide the Will unto that which is good.

¹ Eph. v. 14; Heb. xii. 1, 12; *μήτις γινώσκουσιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ δούλοιο* 1 Cor. xvi. 13; Prov. ii. 4; Luke *οὐκ ἔστι δὲ νόμος*. Arist. *De An.* lib. i. xlii. 24. [cap. 3. t. 35.]

² *Ἔν τῷ εὐδαίμονι καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ σπασί*. VOL. I.



226 *Good may be known by its Causes, or by its Effects.*

BOOK I. men a name expressing both beauty and goodness¹, because
 Ch. vii. 1, 2 goodness in ordinary speech is for the most part applied only
 ----- to that which is beneficial. But we in the name of goodness
 do here imply both.

[2.] And of discerning goodness there are but these two ways; the one the knowledge of the causes whereby it is made such; the other the observation of those signs and tokens, which being annexed always unto goodness, argue that where they are found, there also goodness is, although we know not the cause by force whereof it is there. The former of these is the most sure and infallible way, but so hard that all shun it, and had rather walk as men do in the dark by haphazard, than tread so long and intricate mazes for knowledge² sake. As therefore physicians are many times forced to leave such methods of curing as themselves know to be the fittest, and being overruled by their patients' impatience are fain to try the best they can, in taking that way of cure which the cured will yield unto; in like sort, considering how the case doth stand with this present age full of tongue and weak of brain, behold we yield to the stream thereof; into the causes of goodness we will not make any curious or deep inquiry; to touch them now and then it shall be sufficient, when they are so near at hand that easily they may be conceived without any far-removed discourse: that way we are contented to prove, which being the worse in itself, is notwithstanding now by reason of common imbecility the fitter and likelier to be brooked³.

[3.] Signs and tokens to know good by are of sundry kinds; some more certain and some less. The most certain token of evident goodness is, if the general persuasion of all men do so account it. And therefore a common received error is never utterly overthrown, till such time as we go from signs unto causes, and shew some manifest root or fountain thereof common unto all, whereby it may clearly appear how it hath come to pass that so many have been overseen. In which case surmises and slight probabilities will not serve, because the universal consent of men is the perfectest and strongest in this kind, which comprehendeth

¹ Καλοσχημία. Cardwell: "ἵνα οὐκ ἐπί γε ἀγαθῶν
² [Arist. Eth. Nic. I. 4. 5. ed. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπινοημάτων.]

only the signs and tokens of goodness. Things casual do vary, and that which a man doth but chance to think well of cannot still have the like hap. Wherefore although we know not the cause, yet thus much we may know; that some necessary cause there is, whensoever the judgments of all men generally or for the most part run one and the same way, especially in matters of natural discourse. For of things necessarily and naturally done there is no more affirmed but this, "They keep either always or for the most part one tenure!" The general and perpetual voice of men is as the sentence of God himself¹. For that which all men have at all times learned, Nature herself must needs have taught²; and God being the author of Nature, her voice is but his instrument. By her from Him we receive whatsoever in such sort we learn. Infinite duties there are, the goodness whereof is by this rule sufficiently manifested, although we had no other warrant besides to approve them. The Apostle St. Paul having speech concerning the heathen saith of them³, "They are a law unto themselves." His meaning is, that by force of the light of Reason, wherewith God illuminateth every one which cometh into the world, men being enabled to know truth from false-

BOOK I.
Ch. vii. >

¹ "Et ubi § de rei et soli deo vultus dicitur. Arist. Rhet. l. i. [c. 10.]
² "Vox populi, vox Dei." The origin of the saying is obscure. It was current in the middle ages, as "Scriptores," v. Eadmer, Hist. Nov. l. 42.
³ "Non potest error contingere ubi omnes idem [ita] opinantur." Monticat. in v. Polit. [p. 3] "Quicquid in omnibus individuis unius speciei communiter inest, id eandem communem habet oportet, quae est eorum individuum species et natura." Idem. "Quod a tota aliqua specie fit, universalis particularisque naturae fit instinctus." [Memento debemus vaticinium huius, Quod a tota aliqua animalium specie fit, quia universalis particularisque fit instinctus, verum existere.] Ficini, de Christ.

[Antonio Marazziti, Professor of Civil Law at Ferrara (1568-1597), published Comm. on Aristot. Politica. Ferrara, 1587; Marsilio Ficino, Florentine Platonist (1423-1493). De religione Christiana. Fir. 1474. Cardinal Nicolas Cusa (1401-1464), Bernardus Telesio of Conza (1509-1588), a reformer of natural philosophy.]

Ref. [cap. 1.] "Si proficere cupis, primo firme id verum puta, quod sana mente omnium hominum attestatur." Cusa in Compend. cap. 1. [D. Nicolai de Cusa Cardinalis, utriusque juris Doctoris, omnique philosophia incomparabilis viri Opera. Basil. 1565. Compendium; Directio veritatis, p. 239. See Cave Hist. Lit. t. I. App. 130.] "Non licet naturale universaleque hominum iudicium falsum vanaeque existimare." Teles. [Bernardi Telesii, Consentini, de Rerum Natura iuxta propria principia Libri ix, Neapoli 1586. On this writer's method of philosophizing see a dissertation in Bacon's works, ix. 332.] "O ubi ubi sunt, reus ubi quod." Arist. Eth. lib. x. cap. 2. * Rom. ii. 14.

228 *What Natural Law is, and on what it greatly depends.*

BOOK I hood, and good from evil, do thereby learn in many things
 Ch. vii. 2-5 what the will of God is; which will himself not revealing
 ----- by any extraordinary means unto them, but they by natural
 discourse attaining the knowledge thereof, seem the makers
 of those Laws which indeed are his, and they but only the
 finders of them out.

[4.] A law therefore generally taken, is a directive rule
 unto goodness of operation. The rule of divine operations
 outward, is the definitive appointment of God's own wisdom
 set down within himself. The rule of natural agents that
 work by simple necessity, is the determination of the wisdom
 of God, known to God himself the principal director of them,
 but not unto them that are directed to execute the same.
 The rule of natural agents which work after a sort of their
 own accord, as the beasts do, is the judgment of common
 sense or fancy concerning the sensible goodness of those
 objects wherewith they are moved. The rule of ghostly or
 immaterial natures, as spirits and angels, is their intuitive in-
 tellectual judgment concerning the amiable beauty and high
 goodness of that object, which with unspeakable joy and delight
 doth set them on work. The rule of voluntary agents on
 earth is the sentence that Reason giveth concerning the good-
 ness of those things which they are to do. And the sentences
 which Reason giveth are some more some less general, before
 it come to define in particular actions what is good.

[5.] The main principles of Reason are in themselves
 apparent. For to make nothing evident of itself unto man's
 understanding were to take away all possibility of knowing
 any thing. And herein that of Theophrastus is true, "They
 "that seek a reason of all things do utterly overthrow
 "Reason!"¹ In every kind of knowledge some such grounds
 there are, as that being proposed the mind doth presently
 embrace them as free from all possibility of error, clear
 and manifest without proof. In which kind axioms or
 principles more general are such as this, "that the greater
 "good is to be chosen before the less." If therefore it
 should be demanded what reason there is, why the Will of
 Man, which doth necessarily shun harm and covet whatso-

¹ Ἀπόδεικται ἄνοικτοι λόγοι, ἀνομοίως λόγοι. Theophr. in Metaph.
 [p. 270. 23.]

ever is pleasant and sweet, should be commanded to count the pleasures of sin gall, and notwithstanding the bitter accidents wherewith virtuous actions are compassed, yet still to rejoice and delight in them: surely this could never stand with Reason, but that wisdom thus prescribing groundeth her laws upon an infallible rule of comparison; which is, "That small difficulties, when exceeding great good is sure to ensue, and on the other side momentary benefits, when the hurt which they draw after them is unspeakable, are not at all to be respected." This rule is the ground whereupon the wisdom of the Apostle buildeth a law, enjoining patience unto himself¹; "The present lightness of our affliction worketh unto us even with abundance upon abundance an eternal weight of glory; while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal:" therefore Christianity to be embraced, whatsoever calamities in those times it was accompanied withal. Upon the same ground our Saviour proveth the law most reasonable, that doth forbid those crimes which men for gain's sake fall into. "For a man to win the world if it be with the loss of his soul, what benefit or good is it?" Axioms less general, yet so manifest that they need no further proof, are such as these, "God to be worshipped;" "parents to be honoured;" "others to be used by us as we ourselves would by them." Such things, as soon as they are alleged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no proof or further discourse to be assured of their goodness.

Notwithstanding whatsoever such principle there is, it was at the first found out by discourse, and drawn from out of the very bowels of heaven and earth. For we are to note, that things in the world are to us discernible, not only so far forth as serveth for our vital preservation, but further also in a twofold higher respect. For first if all other uses were utterly taken away, yet the mind of man being by nature speculative and delighted with contemplation in itself, they were to be known even for mere knowledge and understanding's sake. Yea further besides this, the knowledge of every the least

¹ 2 Cor. iv. 17.² Matt. xvi. 26.

thing in the whole world hath in it a second peculiar benefit unto us, inasmuch as it serveth to minister rules, canons, and laws, for men to direct those actions by, which we properly term human. This did the very heathens themselves obscurely insinuate, by making *Themis*, which we call *jus*, or Right, to be the daughter of heaven and earth¹.

[6.] We know things either as they are in themselves, or as they are in mutual relation one to another. The knowledge of that which man is in reference unto himself and other things in relation unto man, I may justly term the mother of all those principles, which are as it were edicts, statutes, and decrees, in that Law of Nature, whereby human actions are framed. First therefore having observed that the best things, where they are not hindered, do still produce the best operations, (for which cause, where many things are to concur unto one effect, the best is in all congruity of reason to guide the residue, that it prevalling most, the work principally done by it may have greatest perfection.) when hereupon we come to observe in ourselves, of what excellency our souls are in comparison of our bodies, and the diviner part in relation unto the baser of our souls; seeing that all these concur in producing human actions, it cannot be well unless the chiefest do command and direct the rest². The soul then ought to conduct the body, and the spirit of our minds³ the soul. This is therefore the first Law, whereby the highest power of the mind requireth general obedience at the hands of all the rest concurring with it unto action.

[7.] Touching the several grand mandates, which being imposed by the understanding faculty of the mind must be obeyed by the Will of Man, they are by the same method found out, whether they import our duty towards God or towards man.

Touching the one, I may not here stand to open, by what degrees of discourse the minds even of mere natural men have attained to know, not only that there is a God, but also what power, force, wisdom, and other properties that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore presupposed, from that known relation which God hath

¹ [Hesiod. Theog. 126, 133, 135.] ² Arist. Pol. I. cap. 4. ³ [Eph. iv. 23.]

unto us as unto children¹, and unto all good things as unto effects whereof himself is the principal cause², these axioms and laws natural concerning our duty have arisen, "that in all things we go about his aid is by prayer to be craved³;" "that he cannot have sufficient honour done unto him, but the utmost of that we can do to honour him we must⁴;" which is in effect the same that we read⁵, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;" which Law our Saviour doth term⁶ "The first and the great commandment."

Touching the next, which as our Saviour addeth is "like unto this," (he meaneth in amplitude and largeness, inasmuch as it is the root out of which all Laws of duty to menward have grown, as out of the former all offices of religion towards God,) the like natural inducement hath brought men to know that it is their duty no less to love others than themselves. For seeing those things which are equal must needs all have one measure; if I cannot but wish to receive all good, even as much at every man's hand as any man can wish unto his own soul, how should I look to have any part of my desire herein satisfied, unless myself be careful to satisfy the like desire which is undoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same nature? To have any thing offered them repugnant to this desire must needs in all respects grieve them as much as me: so that if I do harm I must look to suffer; there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of love to me than they have by me shewed unto them. My desire therefore to be loved of my equals in nature as much as possible may be, imposeth upon me a natural duty of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equality between ourselves and them that are as ourselves, what several rules and canons natural Reason hath drawn for direction of life no man is ignorant; as namely, "That because we would take no harm, we must

BOOK I.
Ch. VII. 2

¹ Οὐδὲν αὐτῷ βλάπτειν ἀδελφεῖον. αὐτῷ παρὶσσοῦσα, δεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀρεσκῆτος ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῷ ἰσότητος. Plat. in Tim. [l. i. 35]. ed. Ser.
² Ὁ θεὸς πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἡμεῶν αἰτία. Arist. Meteor. lib. i. cap. 2. [l. ii. 486].
³ Ἄλλ', ἂν ἐκζητῶμεν, τοῖσιν ἡμεῖς αἰσχροῦ, ὅσα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιθυμῶμεν. Plat. in Tim. [l. i. 37].
⁴ Arist. Ethic. lib. iii. cap. ult.
⁵ Deut. vi. 5.
⁶ Matt. xxii. 38.



232 *Laws of Reason: mandatory, permissive, admonitory.*

BOOK I. "therefore do none;" "That sith we would not be in any
 CH. VII. 2 "thing extremely dealt with, we must ourselves avoid all
 "extremity in our dealings;" "That from all violence and
 "wrong we are utterly to abstain¹;" with such like; which
 further to wade in would be tedious, and to our present
 purpose not altogether so necessary, seeing that on these two
 general heads already mentioned all other specialities are
 dependent².

[8] Wherefore the natural measure whereby to judge our
 doings, is the sentence of Reason, determining and setting
 down what is good to be done. Which sentence is either
 mandatory, shewing what must be done; or else permissive,
 declaring only what may be done; or thirdly admonitory,
 opening what is the most convenient for us to do. The first
 taketh place, where the comparison doth stand altogether
 between doing and not doing of one thing which in itself is
 absolutely good or evil; as it had been for Joseph³ to yield
 or not to yield to the impotent desire of his lewd mistress,
 the one evil the other good simply. The second is, when of
 divers things evil, all being not evitable, we are permitted
 to take one; which one saving only in case of so great
 urgency were not otherwise to be taken; as in the matter
 of divorce amongst the Jews⁴. The last, when of divers
 things good, one is principal and most eminent; as in their
 act who sold their possessions and laid the price at the
 Apostles' feet⁵; which possessions they might have retained
 unto themselves without sin: again, in the Apostle St. Paul's
 own choice⁶ to maintain himself by his own labour; whereas
 in living by the Church's maintenance, as others did, there
 had been no offence committed⁷. In Goodness therefore
 there is a latitude or extent, whereby it cometh to pass that
 even of good actions some are better than other some; whereas

¹ "Quod quis in se approbat, in [Ibid. lib. xlii. tit. 23. tom. 3. p.
 "alio reprobare non posse." l. 133.]
 in *arman*, C. de *inof. test.* [Cod. ² On these two commandments
 just. p. 214. ed. Lugd. 1553.] "hangeh the whole Law." Mat.
 "Quod quique jurat in alium sta-
 "uerit, ipsum quoque eodem uti ³ Gen. xxxix. 9.
 "debet." l. *quod quisque*. [Di- ⁴ Mark x. 4.
 gest. lib. ii. tit. 2. tom. 1. p. 60. ⁵ Actu iv. 37; v. 4.
 Lugd. 1552.] "Ab omni penitus ⁶ 2 Thess. iii. 8.
 "injuria aique vi abstinendum." ⁷ [See note, b. ii. c. 8. § 5.]
 l. i. sect. 1. *Quod vi, aut cōsa.*

otherwise one man could not excel another, but all should be either absolutely good, as hitting jump that indivisible point or centre wherein goodness consisteth; or else missing it they should be excluded out of the number of well-doers. Degrees of well-doing there could be none, except perhaps in the seldomness and oftenness of doing well. But the nature of Goodness being thus ample, a Law is properly that which Reason in such sort defineth to be good that it must be done. And the Law of Reason or human Nature is that which men by discourse of natural Reason have rightly found out themselves to be all for ever bound unto in their actions.

[9.] Laws of Reason have these marks to be known by. Such as keep them resemble most lively in their voluntary actions that very manner of working which Nature herself doth necessarily observe in the course of the whole world. The works of Nature are all behoveful, beautiful, without superfluity or defect; even so theirs, if they be framed according to that which the Law of Reason teacheth. Secondly, those Laws are investigable by Reason, without the help of Revelation supernatural and divine. Finally, in such sort they are investigable, that the knowledge of them is general, the world hath always been acquainted with them; according to that which one in Sophocles observeth concerning a branch of this Law, "It is no child of to-day's or yesterday's birth, but hath been no man knoweth how long sithence".¹ It is not agreed upon by one, or two, or few, but by all. Which we may not so understand, as if every particular man in the whole world did know and confess whatsoever the Law of Reason doth contain; but this Law is such that being proposed no man can reject it as unreasonable and unjust. Again, there is nothing in it but any man (having natural perfection of wit and ripeness of judgment) may by labour and travail find out. And to conclude, the general principles thereof are such, as it is not easy to find men ignorant of them, Law rational therefore, which men commonly use to call the Law of Nature, meaning thereby the Law which human Nature knoweth itself in reason universally bound unto, which also

¹ Οὐ γὰρ ἐν οὐκ ἐν ἀγέῃ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πάρος
ἔστι νόμος, ἀνεπίστατος ἄλλοις ἢ ἄνθρωποις.
Soph. Antig. [v. 436.]

BOOK I
Ch. vii. 10

for that cause may be termed most fitly the Law of Reason ; this Law, I say, comprehendeth all those things which men by the light of their natural understanding evidently know, or at leastwise may know, to be be seeming or unbeseeing, virtuous or vicious, good or evil for them to do.

[10.] Now although it be true, which some have said¹, that "whatsoever is done amis, the Law of Nature and "Reason thereby is transgressed," because even those offences which are by their special qualities breaches of supernatural laws, do also, for that they are generally evil, violate in general that principle of Reason, which willeth universally to fly from evil: yet do we not therefore so far extend the Law of Reason, as to contain in it all manner laws whereunto reasonable creatures are bound, but (as hath been shewed) we restrain it to those only duties, which all men by force of natural wit either do or might understand to be such duties as concern all men. "Certain half-waking "men there are" (as Saint Augustine noteth²), "who neither "altogether asleep in folly, nor yet throughly awake in the "light of true understanding, have thought that there is not "at all any thing just and righteous in itself; but look, "wherewith nations are inured, the same they take to be "right and just. Whereupon their conclusion is, that seeing "each sort of people hath a different kind of right from other, "and that which is right of its own nature must be every- "where one and the same, therefore in itself there is nothing "right. These good folk," saith he, ("that I may not trouble "their wits with rehearsal of too many things,) have not "looked so far into the world as to perceive that, 'Do as thou "wouldst be done unto,' is a sentence which all nations

¹ Th. 1. 2. q. 94. art. 5 [tom. xi. 304.] "Omnia peccata sunt in "universum contra rationem et "naturæ legem." Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. xii. cap. 1. "Omne vitium "naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra "naturam est." [tom. vii. 301.]
² De Doctr. Christ. l. iii. c. 14. [tom. iii. 51.] "Quidam dormi- "antes, ut ita dicam, qui neque "alto somno stultitiæ sopiebantur, "nec in sapientiæ lucem penetrant "evigilare, putaverunt nullam esse "justitiam per se ipsam, sed uni- "cuique genti consuetudinem suam "justam videri; que cum sit di- "versa omnibus gentibus, debeat "autem incommutabilia mansere "justitia, fieri manifestum, nullam "supraam esse justitiam. Non in- "tellexerunt, (ne multa commemo- "rem.) "Quod tibi fieri non vis, alii "ne feceris, nullo modo posse ulla "eorum gentili diversitate variari. "Que sententia cum refertur ad "dilectionem Dei, omnia flagitia "moriuntur; cum ad proximi, om- "nia facinora."

"under heaven are agreed upon. Refer this sentence to the love of God, and it extinguisheth all heinous crimes; refer it to the love of thy neighbour, and all grievous wrongs it banisheth out of the world." Wherefore as touching the Law of Reason, this was (it seemeth) Saint Augustine's judgment: namely, that there are in it some things which stand as principles universally agreed upon; and that out of those principles, which are in themselves evident, the greatest moral duties we owe towards God or man may without any great difficulty be concluded.

[11.] If then it be here demanded, by what means it should come to pass (the greatest part of the Law moral being so easy for all men to know) that so many thousands of men notwithstanding have been ignorant even of principal moral duties, not imagining the breach of them to be sin: I deny not but lewd and wicked custom, beginning perhaps at the first amongst few, afterwards spreading into greater multitudes, and so continuing from time to time, may be of force even in plain things to smother the light of natural understanding; because men will not bend their wits to examine whether things wherewith they have been accustomed be good or evil. For example's sake, that grosser kind of heathenish idolatry, whereby they worshipped the very works of their own hands, was an absurdity to reason so palpable, that the Prophet David comparing idols and idolaters together maketh almost no odds between them, but the one in a manner as much without wit and sense as the other; "They that make them are like unto them, and so are all that trust in them!" That wherein an idolater doth seem so absurd and foolish is by the Wise Man thus expressed, "He is not ashamed to speak unto that which hath no life, he calleth on him that is weak for health, he prayeth for life unto him which is dead, of him which hath no experience he requireth help, for his journey he sueth to him which is not able to go, for gain and work and success in his affairs he seeketh furtherance of him that hath no manner of power." The cause of which senseless stupidity is afterwards imputed to custom.¹ "When a father mourned grievously for his son that was taken away suddenly, he

¹ Psal. cxxxv. 18. ² Wisd. xiii. 17. ³ Wisd. xiv. 15, 16.

236 *Forfeiture of Divine Aid leads to Transgression.*

BOOK I. "made an image for him that was once dead, whom now he
 CH. VIII. "worshippeth as a god, ordaining to his servants ceremonies
 "and sacrifices. Thus by process of time this wicked custom
 "prevailed, and was kept as a law;" the authority of rulers,
 the ambition of craftsmen, and such like means thrusting
 forward the ignorant, and increasing their superstition.

Unto this which the Wise Man hath spoken somewhat
 besides may be added. For whatsoever we have hitherto
 taught, or shall hereafter, concerning the force of man's
 natural understanding, this we always desire withal to be
 understood; that there is no kind of faculty or power in
 man or any other creature, which can rightly perform the
 functions allotted to it, without perpetual aid and concurrence
 of that Supreme Cause of all things. The benefit whereof as
 oft as we cause God in his justice to withdraw, there can no
 other thing follow than that which the Apostle noteth, even
 men endued with the light of reason to walk notwithstanding¹
 "in the vanity of their mind, having their cogitations dark-
 "ened, and being strangers from the life of God through the
 "ignorance which is in them, because of the hardness of
 "their hearts." And this cause is mentioned by the prophet
 Essay², speaking of the ignorance of idolaters, who see not
 how the manifest Law of Reason condemneth their gross
 iniquity and sin. "They have not in them," saith he, "so
 "much wit as to think, 'Shall I bow to the stock of a tree?'"
 "All knowledge and understanding is taken from them; for
 "God hath shut their eyes that they cannot see."

That which we say in this case of idolatry serveth for all
 other things, wherein the like kind of general blindness hath
 prevailed against the manifest Laws of Reason. Within the
 compass of which laws we do not only comprehend what-
 soever may be easily known to belong to the duty of all men,
 but even whatsoever may possibly be known to be of that
 quality, so that the same be by *necessary* consequence
 deduced out of clear and manifest principles. For if once we
 descend unto probable collections what is convenient for men,
 we are then in the territory where free and arbitrary deter-
 minations, the territory where Human Laws take place;
 which laws are after to be considered.

¹ Ephes. iv. 17, 18.² Isa. xliv. 18, 19.

IX. Now the due observation of this Law which Reason teacheth us cannot but be effectual unto their great good that observe the same. For we see the whole world and each part thereof so compacted, that as long as each thing performeth only that work which is natural unto it, it thereby preserveth both other things and also itself. Contrariwise, let any principal thing, as the sun, the moon, any one of the heavens or elements, but once cease or fail, or swerve, and who doth not easily conceive that the sequel thereof would be ruin both to itself and whatsoever dependeth on it? And is it possible, that Man being not only the noblest creature in the world, but even a very world in himself, his transgressing the Law of his Nature should draw no manner of harm after it? Yes¹, "tribulation and anguish" unto every soul that doeth evil.² Good doth follow unto all things by observing the course of their nature, and on the contrary side evil by not observing it; but not unto natural agents that good which we call Reward, not that evil which we properly term Punishment. The reason whereof is, because amongst creatures in this world, only Man's observation of the Law of his Nature is Righteousness, only Man's transgression Sin. And the reason of this is the difference in his manner of observing or transgressing the Law of his Nature. He doth not otherwise than voluntarily the one or the other. What we do against our wills, or constrainedly, we are not properly said to do it, because the motive cause of doing it is not in ourselves, but carrieth us, as if the wind should drive a feather in the air, we no whit furthering that whereby we are driven. In such cases therefore the evil which is done moveth compassion; men are pitied for it, as being rather miserable in such respect than culpable. Some things are likewise done by man, though not through outward force and impulsion, though not against, yet without their wills; as in alienation of mind, or any the like inevitable utter absence of wit and judgment. For which cause, no man did ever think the hurtful actions of furious men and innocents to be punishable. Again, some things we do neither against nor without, and yet not simply and merely with our wills, but with our wills in such sort moved, that

¹ Rom. ii. 9.

BOOK I
Ch. ix. 4.

The benefit
of keeping
the Law
is, which
Reason
teacheth.

238 *Reward and Punishment relative to voluntary Actions.*

BOOK I. albeit there be no impossibility but that we might, never-
 CH. IX. s. theless we are not so easily able to do otherwise. In this
 consideration one evil deed is made more pardonable than
 another. Finally, that which we do being evil, is notwith-
 standing by so much more pardonable, by how much the
 exigence of so doing or the difficulty of doing otherwise is
 greater; unless this necessity or difficulty have originally
 risen from ourselves. It is no excuse therefore unto him,
 who being drunk committeth incest, and allegeth that his
 wits were not his own; inasmuch as himself might have
 chosen whether his wits should by that mean have been
 taken from him. Now rewards and punishments do always
 presuppose something willingly done well or ill; without
 which respect though we may sometimes receive good or
 harm, yet then the one is only a benefit and not a reward,
 the other simply an hurt not a punishment. From the sundry
 dispositions of man's Will, which is the root of all his actions,
 there groweth variety in the sequel of rewards and punish-
 ments, which are by these and the like rules measured:
 "Take away the will, and all acts are equal: That which we
 "do not, and would do, is commonly accepted as done¹." By these and the like rules men's actions are determined of
 and judged, whether they be in their own nature rewardable
 or punishable.

[2.] Rewards and punishments are not received, but at
 the hands of such as being above us have power to examine
 and judge our deeds. How men come to have this authority
 one over another in external actions, we shall more diligently
 examine in that which followeth. But for this present, so
 much all do acknowledge, that sith every man's heart and
 conscience doth in good or evil, even secretly committed and
 known to none but itself, either like or disallow itself, and
 accordingly either rejoice, very nature exulting (as it were)
 in certain hope of reward, or else grieve (as it were) in a
 sense of future punishment; neither of which can in this
 case be looked for from any other, saving only from Him
 who discerneth and judgeth the very secrets of all hearts:

¹ "Voluntate sublata, omnem ac- " Bonam voluntatem plerumque pro
 tum parem esse." L. *fiduzi*. "facto reputari." L. *si quis in tes-*
 tament. c. *de adult.* [Cod. Justin. 968.] *tament.* [Ibid. 732.]

Conscience, an Indication of God's moral Government. 239

therefore He is the only rewarder and revenger of all such actions; although not of such actions only, but of all whereby the Law of Nature is broken whereof Himself is author. For which cause, the Roman laws, called The Laws of the Twelve Tables, requiring offices of inward affection which the eye of man cannot reach unto, threaten the neglecters of them with none but divine punishment¹.

X. That which hitherto we have set down is (I hope) sufficient to shew their brutishness, which imagine that religion and virtue are only as men will account of them; that we might make as much account, if we would, of the contrary, without any harm unto ourselves, and that in nature they are as indifferent one as the other. We see then how nature itself teacheth laws and statutes to live by. The laws which have been hitherto mentioned do bind men absolutely even as they are men, although they have never any settled fellowship, never any solemn agreement amongst themselves what to do or not to do². But forasmuch as we are not by ourselves sufficient to furnish ourselves with competent store of things needful for such a life as our nature doth desire, a life fit for the dignity of man; therefore to supply those defects and imperfections which are in us living single and solely by ourselves, we are naturally induced to seek communion and fellowship with others. This was the cause of men's uniting themselves at the first in politic Societies, which societies could not be without Government, nor Government without a distinct kind of Law from that which hath been already declared. Two foundations there are which bear up public societies; the one, a natural inclination, whereby all men desire sociable life and fellowship; the other, an order expressly or secretly agreed upon touching the manner of their union in living together. The latter is that which we call the Law of a Commonwealth, the very soul of a politic body, the parts whereof are by law animated, held together, and set on work in such actions, as the common good requireth. Laws politic, ordained for external order and regiment amongst men, are never framed as they

BOOK I.
Ch. x. 1.

How Reason doth lead men unto the making of human laws whereby politic Societies are governed; and to agreement about laws whereby the fellowship or communion of men is maintained, a independent societies stand.

¹ "Dixos caste adempto pietatem adhibento: qui secus fecit, Deus ipse vindex erit." [Cic. de Leg. II. 8.]

² "Ἐπει γὰρ, ἂ μνησθέντες ἐν εἰρήνῃ φίλων καὶ φίλων οἱ ἄλλοι, οὐ μολοῖς ἀνομιῆς ἐπιτελέσθαι ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Arist. Rhet. I. [c. 13.]



BOOK I.
 Ch. 4.
 should be, unless presuming the will of man to be inwardly obstinate, rebellious, and averse from all obedience unto the sacred laws of his nature; in a word, unless presuming man to be in regard of his depraved mind little better than a wild beast, they do accordingly provide notwithstanding so to frame his outward actions, that they be no hindrance unto the common good for which societies are instituted: unless they do this, they are not perfect. It resteth therefore that we consider how nature findeth out such laws of government as serve to direct even nature depraved to a right end.

[2.] All men desire to lead in this world a happy life. That life is led most happily, wherein all virtue is exercised without impediment or let. The Apostle¹, in exhorting men to contentment although they have in this world no more than very bare food and raiment, giveth us thereby to understand that those are even the lowest of things necessary; that if we should be stripped of all those things without which we might possibly be, yet these must be left; that destitution in these is such an impediment, as till it be removed suffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care. For this cause, first God assigned Adam maintenance of life, and then appointed him a law to observe². For this cause, after men began to grow to a number, the first thing we read they gave themselves unto was the tilling of the earth and the feeding of cattle. Having by this mean whereon to live, the principal actions of their life afterward are noted by the exercise of their religion³. True it is, that the kingdom of God must be the first thing in our purposes and desires⁴. But inasmuch as righteous life presupposeth life; inasmuch as to live virtuously it is impossible except we live; therefore the first impediment, which naturally we endeavour to remove, is penury and want of things without which we cannot live. Unto life many implements are necessary; more, if we seek (as all men naturally do) such a life as hath in it joy, comfort, delight, and pleasure. To this end we see how quickly sundry arts mechanical were found out, in the very prime of the world⁵. As things of greatest

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 8. ² Gen. i. 29; ii. 17. ³ Gen. iv. 2, 26.
⁴ Matt. vi. 33. ⁵ Gen. iv. 20, 21, 22.

necessity are always first provided for, so things of greatest dignity are most accounted of by all such as judge rightly. Although therefore riches be a thing which every man wisheth, yet no man of judgment can esteem it better to be rich, than wise, virtuous, and religious. If we be both or either of these, it is not because we are so born. For into the world we come as empty of the one as of the other, as naked in mind as we are in body. Both which necessities of man had at the first no other helps and supplies than only domestical; such as that which the Prophet implieth, saying, "Can a mother forget her child?"¹ such as that which the Apostle mentioneth, saying, "He that careth not for his own is worse than an infidel";² such as that concerning Abraham, "Abraham will command his sons and his household after him, that they keep the way of the Lord."³

[3.] But neither that which we learn of ourselves nor that which others teach us can prevail, where wickedness and malice have taken deep root. If therefore when there was but as yet one only family in the world, no means of instruction human or divine could prevent effusion of blood⁴; how could it be chosen but that when families were multiplied and increased upon earth, after separation each providing for itself, envy, strife, contention and violence must grow amongst them? For hath not Nature furnished man with wit and valour, as it were with armour, which may be used as well unto extreme evil as good? Yea, were they not used by the rest of the world unto evil; unto the contrary only by Seth, Enoch, and those few the rest in that line?⁵ We all make complaint of the iniquity of our times: not unjustly; for the days are evil. But compare them with those times wherein there were no civil societies, with those times wherein there was as yet no manner of public regiment established, with those times wherein there were not above eight persons righteous living upon the face of the earth⁶; and we have surely good cause to think that God hath blessed us exceedingly, and hath made us behold most happy days.

[4.] To take away all such mutual grievances, injuries, and wrongs, there was no way but only by growing unto com-

¹ Isa. xlix. 15.² 1 Tim. v. 8.³ Gen. xxviii. 19.⁴ Gen. iv. 8.⁵ Gen. vi. 5; Gen. v.⁶ 2 Pet. ii. 5.

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243 *Origin of Government.—Patriarchal Government.*

BOOK I. position and agreement amongst themselves, by ordaining
 Ch. 2. 4. some kind of government public, and by yielding themselves
 subject thereunto; that unto whom they granted authority
 to rule and govern, by them the peace, tranquillity, and happy
 estate of the rest might be procured. Men always knew that
 when force and injury was offered they might be defender: of
 themselves; they knew that howsoever men may seek their
 own commodity, yet if this were done with injury unto others
 it was not to be suffered, but by all men and by all good
 means to be withstood; finally they knew that no man might
 in reason take upon him to determine his own right, and
 according to his own determination proceed in maintenance
 thereof, inasmuch as every man is towards himself and them
 whom he greatly affecteth partial; and therefore that strifes
 and troubles would be endless, except they gave their common
 consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree
 upon: without which consent there were no reason that one
 man should take upon him to be lord or judge over another;
 because, although there be according to the opinion of some
 very great and judicious men a kind of natural right in the
 noble, wise, and virtuous, to govern them which are of servile
 disposition¹; nevertheless for manifestation of this their right,
 and men's more peaceable contentment on both sides, the
 assent of them who are to be governed seemeth necessary.

To fathers within their private families Nature hath given
 a supreme power; for which cause we see throughout the
 world even from the foundation thereof, all men have ever
 been taken as lords and lawful kings in their own houses.
 Howbeit over a whole grand multitude having no such de-
 pendency upon any one, and consisting of so many families
 as every politic society in the world doth, impossible it is that
 any should have complete lawful power, but by consent of
 men, or immediate appointment of God; because not having
 the natural superiority of fathers, their power must needs be
 either usurped, and then unlawful; or, if lawful, then either
 granted or consented unto by them over whom they exercise
 the same, or else given extraordinarily from God, unto whom
 all the world is subject. It is no improbable opinion therefore
 which the arch-philosopher was of, that as the chiefest person

¹ Arist. Polit. lib. iii. et iv.

in every household was always as it were a king, so when numbers of households joined themselves in civil society together, kings were the first kind of governors amongst them¹. Which is also (as it seemeth) the reason why the name of *Father* continued still in them, who of fathers were made rulers; as also the ancient custom of governors to do as Melchisedec, and being kings to exercise the office of priests, which fathers did at the first, grew perhaps by the same occasion.

Howbeit not this the only kind of regiment that hath been received in the world. The inconveniences of one kind have caused sundry other to be devised. So that in a word all public regiment of what kind soever seemeth evidently to have risen from deliberate advice, consultation, and composition between men, judging it convenient and behoveful; there being no impossibility in nature considered by itself, but that men might have lived without any public regiment. Howbeit, the corruption of our nature being presupposed, we may not deny but that the Law of Nature doth now require of necessity some kind of regiment, so that to bring things unto the first course they were in, and utterly to take away all kind of public government in the world, were apparently to overturn the whole world.

[5.] The case of man's nature standing therefore as it doth, some kind of regiment the Law of Nature doth require; yet the kinds thereof being many, Nature tieth not to any one, but leaveth the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the first when some certain kind of regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was then further thought upon for the manner of governing, but all permitted unto their wisdom and discretion which were to rule²; till by experience they found this for all parts very inconvenient, so as the thing which they had devised for a remedy did indeed but increase the sore which it should have cured. They saw that to live by one man's will became the cause of all men's misery. This constrained

¹ Arist. Polit. lib. i. cap. 2. Vide et Platonem in 3. de Legibus. [t. ii. 666.]
² Cum premeretur initio multo ab his qui majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confo-

giebant virtute præstantem, qui cum prohiberet injuria tenuiores, æquitate constituenda summis cum infimis pari jure retinebat. Cum id minus contingeret, leges sunt inventæ. Cic. Offit. lib. ii. [c. 12.]

BOOK I
 CH. V. 6.
 ———
 them to come unto laws, wherein all men might see their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them. If things be simply good or evil, and withal universally so acknowledged, there needs no new law to be made for such things¹. The first kind therefore of things appointed by laws human containeth whatsoever being in itself naturally good or evil, is notwithstanding more secret than that it can be discerned by every man's present conceit, without some deeper discourse and judgment. In which discourse because there is difficulty and possibility many ways to err, unless such things were set down by laws, many would be ignorant of their duties which now are not, and many that know what they should do would nevertheless dissemble it, and to excuse themselves pretend ignorance and simplicity, which now they cannot².

[6.] And because the greatest part of men are such as prefer their own private good before all things, even that good which is sensual before whatsoever is most divine; and for that the labour of doing good, together with the pleasure arising from the contrary, doth make men for the most part slower to the one and proner to the other, than that duty prescribed them by law can prevail sufficiently with them: therefore unto laws that men do make for the benefit of men it hath seemed always needful to add rewards, which may more allure unto good than any hardness deterreth from it, and punishments, which may more deter from evil than any sweetness thereto allureth. Wherein as the generality is natural, *virtus rewardable and vice punishable*; so the particular determination of the reward or punishment belongeth unto them by whom laws are made. Theft is naturally punishable, but the kind of punishment is positive, and such lawful as men shall think with discretion convenient by law to appoint.

[7.] In laws, that which is natural bindeth universally, that which is positive not so. To let go those kind of positive

¹ Τὸ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ φανερὸν ἐπι- Arist. Rhet. ad Alex. [c. 2.]
 κείνη καὶ τὰς ἐπιγινώσκουσιν ἀπο- "Tanta est enim vis volupta-
 ληθῶν, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔργα αὐ- "tum, ut et ignorantiam predelet in
 αὐτοῖς ἀνεπίστατον καὶ ἀδύνατον αὐ- "occasionem, et conscientiam cor-
 γρηγορεῖν, ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους "rumpat in dissimulationem." Ter-
 ἁποδοῦν καὶ ἐπιπρὸς ἑαυτοῦ. tull. lib. de Spectacul. [c. 1.]



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laws which men impose upon themselves, as by vow unto God, contract with men, or such like; somewhat it will make unto our purpose, a little more fully to consider what things are incident into the making of the positive laws for the government of them that live united in public society. Laws do not only teach what is good, but they enjoin it, they have in them a certain constraining force. And to constrain men unto any thing inconvenient doth seem unreasonable. Most requisite therefore it is that to devise laws which all men shall be forced to obey none but wise men be admitted. Laws are matters of principal consequence; men of common capacity and but ordinary judgment are not able (for how should they?) to discern what things are fittest for each kind and state of regiment. We cannot be ignorant how much our obedience unto laws dependeth upon this point. Let a man though never so justly oppose himself unto them that are disordered in their ways, and what one amongst them commonly doth not stomach at such contradiction, storm at reproof, and hate such as would reform them? Notwithstanding even they which brook it worst that men should tell them of their duties, when they are told the same by a law, think very well and reasonably of it. For why? They presume that the law doth speak with all indifferency; that the law hath no side-respect to their persons; that the law is as it were an oracle proceeded from wisdom and understanding¹.

[R.] Howbeit laws do not take their constraining force from the quality of such as devise them, but from that power which doth give them the strength of laws. That which we spake before concerning the power of government must here be applied unto the power of making laws whereby to govern; which power God hath over all; and by the natural law, whereunto he hath made all subject, the lawful power of making laws to command whole politic societies of men belongeth so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express commission immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority derived at the first from

¹ [Arist. Eth. Nic. x. c. ix. 12.]

BOOK I
Ch. x. 8.

BOOK I.
 CH. X. 2
 ————
 their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny.

Laws they are not therefore which public approbation hath not made so. But approbation not only they give who personally declare their assent by voice sign or act, but also when others do it in their names by right originally at the least derived from them. As in parliaments, councils, and the like assemblies, although we be not personally ourselves present, notwithstanding our assent is by reason of others agents there in our behalf. And what we do by others, no reason but that it should stand as our deed, no less effectually to bind us than if ourselves had done it in person. In many things assent is given, they that give it not imagining they do so, because the manner of their assenting is not apparent. As for example, when an absolute monarch commandeth his subjects that which seemeth good in his own discretion, hath not his edict the force of a law whether they approve or dislike it? Again, that which hath been, received long sithence and is by custom now established, we keep as a law which we may not transgress; yet what consent was ever therunto sought or required at our hands?

Of this point therefore we are to note that sith men naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole politic multitudes of men, therefore utterly without our consent we could in such sort be at no man's commandment living. And to be commanded we do consent, when that society whereof we are part hath at any time before consented, without revoking the same after by the like universal agreement. Wherefore as any man's deed past is good as long as himself continueth; so the act of a public society of men done five hundred years sithence standeth as theirs who presently are of the same societies, because corporations are immortal; we were then alive in our predecessors, and they in their successors do live still. Laws therefore human, of what kind soever, are available by consent.

[9.] If here it be demanded how it cometh to pass that this being common unto all laws which are made, there should be found even in good laws so great variety as there

is; we must note the reason hereof to be the sundry particular ends, whereunto the different disposition of that subject or matter, for which laws are provided, causeth them to have especial respect in making laws. A law there is mentioned amongst the Grecians whereof Pittacus is reported to have been author; and by that law it was agreed, that he which being overcome with drink did then strike any man, should suffer punishment double as much as if he had done the same being sober¹. No man could ever have thought this reasonable, that had intended thereby only to punish the injury committed according to the gravity of the fact: for who knoweth not that harm advisedly done is naturally less pardonable, and therefore worthy of the sharper punishment? But forasmuch as none did so usually this way offend as men in that case, which they wittingly fell into, even because they would be so much the more freely outrageous; it was for their public good where such disorder was grown to frame a positive law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertain those known laws of making laws; as that law-makers must have an eye to the place where, and to the men amongst whom; that one kind of laws cannot serve for all kinds of regiment; that where the multitude beareth sway, laws that shall tend unto preservation of that state must make common smaller offices to go by lot, for fear of strife and division likely to arise; by reason that ordinary qualities sufficing for discharge of such offices, they could not but by many be desired, and so with danger contended for, and not missed without grudge and discontentment, whereas at an uncertain lot none can find themselves grieved, on whomsoever it lighteth; contrariwise the greatest, whereof but few are capable, to pass by popular election, that neither the people may envy such as have those honours, inasmuch as themselves bestow them, and that the chiefest may be kindled with desire to exercise all parts of rare and beneficial virtue, knowing they shall not lose their labour by growing in fame and estimation amongst the people: if the helm of chief government be in the hands of a few of the wealthiest, that then laws providing for continuance thereof must make the punishment of contumely and wrong offered

¹ Arist. Polit. lib. ii. cap. ult.

BOOK I. unto any of the common sort sharp and grievous, that so the
 CH. X. 106. evil may be prevented whereby the rich are most likely to bring
 themselves into hatred with the people, who are not wont
 to take so great offence when they are excluded from honours
 and offices, as when their persons are contumeliously trodden
 upon. In other kinds of regiment the like is observed concern-
 ing the difference of positive laws, which to be every
 where the same is impossible and against their nature.

[10.] Now as the learned in the laws¹ of this land observe,
 that our statutes sometimes are only the affirmation or ratifi-
 cation of that which by common law was held before; so here
 it is not to be omitted that generally all laws human, which
 are made for the ordering of politic societies, be either such
 as establish some duty whereunto all men by the law of
 reason did before stand bound; or else such as make that
 a duty now which before was none. The one sort we may
 for distinction's sake call "mixedly," and the other "merely"
 human. That which plain or necessary reason bindeth
 men unto may be in sundry considerations expedient to be
 ratified by human law. For example, if confusion of blood in
 marriage, the liberty of having many wives at once, or any
 other the like corrupt and unreasonable custom doth happen
 to have prevailed far, and to have gotten the upper hand
 of right reason with the greatest part; so that no way is left
 to rectify such foul disorder without prescribing by law the
 same things which reason necessarily *doth* enforce but is not
perceived that so it doth; or if many be grown unto that
 which the Apostle did lament in some, concerning whom he
 writeth, saying, that "even what things they naturally know,
 "in those very things as beasts void of reason they corrupted
 "themselves"; or if there be no such special accident, yet
 forasmuch as the common sort are led by the sway of their

¹ Stroud's Preface to the Pleas of the Crown. [^o Civiti non pauca e-
 " Bractono et Britono, vetustis le-
 " gum scriptoribus, hoc minimum
 " consilio: ut cum leges coronae
 " magna ex parte iure statutorio
 " constant, ponatur ante legentis
 " oculos commune jus, quod fuit
 " ante ea statuta condita. Nam ea
 " res maxime conducit recte inter-
 " pretandi statuta. Id enim intel-
 " ligenti statim occurrunt mala quae
 " commune jus contraxit. Pervidet
 " autem ille quotae illorum maiorem
 " parti medetur, et quotae non; et
 " omne huiusmodi statutum nova-
 " tum jus per se, an nihil aliud
 " quam communis juris affirmatio."
 Ed. 1574.]
² Jude 10.

sensual desires, and therefore do more shun sin for the sensible evils which follow it amongst men, than for any kind of sentence which reason doth pronounce against it¹: this very thing is cause sufficient why duties belonging unto each kind of virtue, albeit the Law of Reason teach them, should notwithstanding be prescribed even by human law. Which law in this case we term *mixed*, because the matter whereunto it bindeth is the same which reason necessarily doth require at our hands, and from the Law of Reason it differeth in the manner of binding only. For whereas men before stood bound in conscience to do as the Law of Reason teacheth, they are now by virtue of human law become constrainable, and if they outwardly transgress, punishable. As for laws which are *merely* human, the matter of them is any thing which reason doth but probably teach to be fit and convenient; so that till such time as law hath passed amongst men about it, of itself it bindeth no man. One example whereof may be this. Lands are by human law in some places after the owner's decease divided unto all his children, in some all descendeth to the eldest son. If the Law of Reason did necessarily require but the one of these two to be done, they which by law have received the other should be subject to that heavy sentence, which denounceth against all that decree wicked, unjust, and unreasonable things, *use*². Whereas now whichever be received there is no Law of Reason transgressed; because there is probable reason why either of them may be expedient, and for either of them more than probable reason there is not to be found.

[11.] Laws whether mixedly or merely human are made by politic societies: some, only as those societies are civilly united; some, as they are spiritually joined and make such a body as we call the Church. Of laws human in this latter kind we are to speak in the third book following. Let it therefore suffice thus far to have touched the force where-with Almighty God hath graciously endued our nature, and thereby enabled the same to find out both those laws which all men generally are for ever bound to observe, and also such

¹ [Arist. Eth. Nic. X. 10: Οἱ πολλοὶ ἀκούειν ἄλλῃσιν ἢ λόγῳ συνθηκόμενοι, καὶ ἄπειρα ἢ ἄνθρωποι.]
Isaiah x. 1.

BOOK I.
Ch. 4. 14.
—

as are most fit for their behoof, who lead their lives in any ordered state of government.

[12] Now besides that law which simply concerneth men as men, and that which belongeth unto them as they are men linked with others in some form of politic society, there is a third kind of law which toucheth all such several bodies politic, so far forth as one of them hath public commerce with another. And this third is the Law of Nations. Between men and beasts there is no possibility of sociable communion, because the well-spring of that communion is a natural delight which man hath to transfuse from himself into others, and to receive from others into himself especially those things wherein the excellency of his kind doth most consist. The chiefest instrument of human communion therefore is speech, because thereby we impart mutually one to another the conceits of our reasonable understanding¹. And for that cause seeing beasts are not hereof capable, forasmuch as with them we can use no such conference, they being in degree, although above other creatures on earth to whom nature hath denied sense, yet lower than to be sociable companions of man to whom nature hath given reason; it is of Adam said that amongst the beasts "he found not for "himself any meet companion!" Civil society doth more content the nature of man than any private kind of solitary living, because in society this good of mutual participation is so much larger than otherwise. Herewith notwithstanding we are not satisfied, but we covet (if it might be) to have a kind of society and fellowship even with all mankind. Which thing Socrates intending to signify professed himself a citizen, not of this or that commonwealth, but of the world². And an effect of that very natural desire in us (a manifest token that we wish after a sort an universal fellowship with all men) appeareth by the wonderful delight men have, some to visit foreign countries, some to discover nations not heard of in former ages, we all to know the affairs and dealings of other people, yea to be in league of amity with them; and this not only for traffick's sake, or to the end that when many are confederated each may make other the more strong, but

¹ Arist. Polit. i. cap. 2.
² Gen. ii. 20.

³ Cic. Tusc. v. [c. 37.] et i. de Legib. [c. 12.]

for such cause also as moved the Queen of Saba to visit Solomon¹; and in a word, because nature doth presume that how many men there are in the world, so many gods as it were there are, or at leastwise such they should be towards men².

[13.] Touching laws which are to serve men in this behalf; even as those Laws of Reason, which (man retaining his original integrity) had been sufficient to direct each particular person in all his affairs and duties, are not sufficient but require the access of other laws, now that man and his offspring are grown thus corrupt and sinful; again, as those laws of polity and regiment, which would have served men living in public society together with that harmless disposition which then they should have had, are not able now to serve, when men's iniquity is so hardly restrained within any tolerable bounds; in like manner, the national laws of mutual³ commerce between societies of that former and better quality might have been other than now, when nations are so prone to offer violence, injury, and wrong. Hereupon hath grown in every of these three kinds that distinction between Primary and Secondary laws; the one grounded upon sincere, the other built upon depraved nature. Primary laws of nations are such as concern embassage, such as belong to the courteous entertainment of foreigners and strangers, such as serve for commodious traffick, and the like. Secondary laws in the same kind are such as this present unquiet world is most familiarly acquainted with; I mean laws of arms, which yet are much better known than kept. But what matter the Law of Nations doth contain I omit to search.

The strength and virtue of that law is such that no particular nation can lawfully prejudice the same by any their several laws and ordinances, more than a man by his private resolutions the law of the whole commonwealth or state wherein he liveth. For as civil law, being the act of a whole body politic, doth therefore overrule each several part of the same body; so there is no reason that any one commonwealth of itself should to the prejudice of another

¹ 1 Kings x. 1; 2 Chron. ix. 1; Chil. t. cent. 1. 69. Cf. Bacon, N. Matt. xii. 42; Luke xi. 31.
² [*Αὐθάρτος ἀεὶ παρὶς θεοῦ*—] [So 1st and 2nd edd. 'natural, *Homo homini deus*: Erasmi Adag. 4th ed. 1657, and so K.] 1886.

annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed. For which cause, the Lacedæmonians forbidding all access of strangers into their coasts, are in that respect both by Josephus and Theodoret deservedly blamed¹, as being enemies to that hospitality which for common humanity's sake all the nations on earth should embrace.

[14.] Now as there is great cause of communion, and consequently of laws for the maintenance of communion, amongst nations; so amongst nations Christian like in regard even of Christianity hath been always judged needful.

And in this kind of correspondence amongst nations the force of general councils doth stand. For as one and the same law divine, whereof in the next place we are to speak, is unto all Christian churches a rule for the chiefest things; by means whereof they all in that respect make one church, as having all but "one Lord, one faith, and one baptism"², so the urgent necessity of mutual communion for preservation of our unity in these things, as also for order in some other things convenient to be every where uniformly kept, maketh it requisite that the Church of God here on earth have her laws of spiritual commerce between Christian nations; laws by virtue whereof all churches may enjoy freely the use of those reverend, religious, and sacred consultations, which are termed Councils General. A thing whereof God's own blessed Spirit was the author³; a thing practised by the holy Apostles themselves; a thing always afterwards kept and observed throughout the world; a thing never otherwise than most highly esteemed of, till pride, ambition, and tyranny began by factious and vile endeavours to abuse that divine invention unto the furtherance of wicked purposes. But as the just authority of civil courts and parliaments is not therefore to be abolished, because sometime there is cunning used to frame them according to the private intents of men over potent in the commonwealth; so the grievous abuse which hath been of councils should rather cause men to study how so gracious a thing may again be reduced to that first perfection, than in regard of stains and blemishes aithence growing be held for ever in extreme disgrace.

¹ Joseph. lib. ii. contra Apion. Græc. AE [p. 611. l. iv. ed. Par. 1642.] [c. 36.] Theod. lib. ix. de sanand. ² Ephes. iv. 5. ³ Acts xv. 28.

To speak of this matter as the cause requireth would require very long discourse. All I will presently say is this: whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto divine law bindeth us, but yet in such sort that men are not thereof on all sides resolved; or for the setting down of some uniform judgment to stand touching such things, as being neither way matters of necessity, are notwithstanding offensive and scandalous when there is open opposition about them; be it for the ending of strifes, touching matters of Christian belief, wherein the one part may seem to have probable cause of dissenting from the other; or be it concerning matters of polity, order, and regiment in the church; I nothing doubt but that Christian men should much better frame themselves to those heavenly precepts, which our Lord and Saviour with so great instancy gave¹ as concerning peace and unity, if we did all concur in desire to have the use of ancient councils again renewed, rather than these proceedings continued, which either make all contentions endless, or bring them to one only determination, and that of all other the worst², which is by sword.

[15] It followeth therefore that a new foundation being laid, we now adjoin herunto that which cometh in the next place to be spoken of; namely, wherefore God hath himself by Scripture made known such laws as serve for direction of men.

XI. All things, (God only excepted,) besides the nature which they have in themselves, receive externally some perfection from other things, as hath been shewed. Inasmuch as there is in the whole world no one thing great or small, but either in respect of knowledge or of use it may unto our perfection add somewhat. And whatsoever such perfection there is which our nature may acquire, the same we properly term our Good; our Sovereign Good or Blessedness, that wherein the highest degree of all our perfection consisteth, that which being once attained unto there can rest nothing further to be desired; and therefore with it our souls are fully content and satisfied, in that they have they rejoice, and thirst for no more. Wherefore of good things desired some are such that for themselves we covet them not, but only because they serve as instruments unto that for which we are

¹ John xiv. 27.

² So B.; 'worse,' A.] 1886.

BOOK I.
Ch. 1. 15

Wherefore
God hath
by Scrip-
ture for
their made
known
such appen-
dental
laws, as do
serve for
men's di-
rection.

to seek : of this sort are riches. Another kind there is, which although we desire for itself, as health, and virtue, and knowledge, nevertheless they are not the last mark whereto we aim, but have their further end whereunto they are referred, so as in them we are not satisfied as having attained the utmost we may, but our desires do still proceed. These things are linked and as it were chained one to another ; we labour to eat, and we eat to live, and we live to do good, and the good which we do is as seed sown with reference to a future harvest¹. But we must come at length to some pause. For, if every thing were to be desired for some other without any stint, there could be no certain end proposed unto our actions, we should go on we know not whither ; yea, whatsoever we do were in vain, or rather nothing at all were possible to be done. For as to take away the first efficient of our being were to annihilate utterly our persons, so we cannot remove the last final cause of our working, but we shall cause whatsoever we work to cease. Therefore something there must be desired for itself simply and for no other. That is simply for itself desirable, unto the nature whereof it is opposite and repugnant to be desired with relation unto any other. The ox and the ass desire their food, neither propose they unto themselves any end wherefore ; so that of them this is desired for itself ; but why ? By reason of their imperfection which cannot otherwise desire it ; whereas that which is desired simply for itself, the excellency thereof is such as permitteth it not in any sort to be referred to a further end.

[a.] Now that which man doth desire with reference to a further end, the same he desireth in such measure as is unto that end convenient ; but what he coveteth as good in itself, towards that his desire is ever infinite. So that unless the last good of all, which is desired altogether for itself, be also infinite, we do evil in making it our end ; even as they who placed their felicity in wealth or honour or pleasure or any thing here attained ; because in desiring any thing as our final perfection which is not so, we do amiss². Nothing

¹ "He that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." Gal. vi. 8.
² Vide Arist. Ethic. lib. x. c. 10. [c. 7.] et Metaph. I. lib. c. 6. [² Est

"aliquid, quod non motum movet ;
"quod aeternum, et substantia, et
"actus est." et c. 4. ["Preter hæc
"non [est] cuncta movens, tan-
"quam omnium primum."] et c. 30.

may be infinitely desired but that good which indeed is infinite; for the better the more desirable; that therefore most desirable wherein there is infinity of goodness: so that if any thing desirable may be infinite, that must needs be the highest of all things that are desired. No good is infinite but only God; therefore he our felicity and bliss. Moreover, desire tendeth unto union with that it desireth. If then in Him we be blessed, it is by force of participation and conjunction with Him. Again, it is not the possession of any good thing can make them happy which have it, unless they enjoy the thing wherewith they are possessed. Then are we happy therefore when fully we enjoy God, as an object wherein the powers of our souls are satisfied even with everlasting delight; so that although we be men, yet by being unto God united we live as it were the life of God.

[3] Happiness therefore is that estate whereby we attain, so far as possibly may be attained, the full possession of that which simply for itself is to be desired, and containeth in it after an eminent sort the contentation of our desires, the highest degree of all our perfection. Of such perfection capable we are not in this life. For while we are in the world, subject we are unto sundry imperfections¹, griefs of body, defects of mind; yea the best things we do are painful, and the exercise of them grievous, being continued without intermission; so as in those very actions whereby we are especially perfected in this life we are not able to persist; forced we are with very weariness, and that often, to interrupt them: which tediousness cannot fall into those operations that are in the state of bliss, when our union with God is complete. Complete union with him must be according unto every power and faculty of our minds apt to receive so glorious an object. Capable we are of God both by understanding and will: by understanding, as He is that sovereign Truth which comprehendeth the rich treasures of all wisdom; by will, as He is that sea of Goodness whereof whoso tasteth

¹ *Μόνη δ' Ἀσκήσις, ἐν ἧσιν ἔχει τὴν θεὸν τὴν εἰς αὐτὴν συνθεσῆναι καὶ ἀφῆσαι ἐν ἀδελφότητι, καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἰσχυρίαν καὶ ἀγαθὴν. Ἐν ἀδελφότητι... Τὸ μὴ εἶναι κακὸν, ἀδελφὴ ἀδελφότης εἶναι ἐν τῇ κτίσει καὶ τῷ ἀγαθῷ εἶναι. Τὸ δὲ ἀδελφὴ ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἡ γὰρ ἀγαθὴ κτίσις εἶναι τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἐκείνη τῆς ἀδελφότητος. καὶ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαθῶν, ἡ δὲ ἀδελφότης αὐτὴ τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ θεοῦ. Merc. Tris. [lib. vi. ἀρεταίων τῆς σοφίας... ἔργα δὲ γὰρ ε. 14.]*

BOOK I.
Ch. vi. 2.



BOOK I shall thirst no more. As the will doth now work upon that
 CH. II. 4 object by desire, which is as it were a motion towards the end
 --- as --- received it shall work also by love. "Appetitus inhiantis fit
 "amor fruentis," saith St. Augustine: "The longing dis-
 "position of them that thirst is changed into the sweet affec-
 "tion of them that taste and are replenished!" Whereas
 we now love the thing that is good, but good especially in
 respect of benefit unto us; we shall then love the thing that is
 good, only or principally for the goodness of beauty in itself.
 The soul being in this sort, as it is active, perfected by love
 of that infinite good, shall, as it is receptive, be also perfected
 with those supernatural passions of joy, peace, and delight.
 All this endless and everlasting¹. Which perpetuity, in
 regard whereof our blessedness is termed "a crown which
 "withereth not," doth neither depend upon the nature of
 the thing itself, nor proceed from any natural necessity that
 our souls should so exercise themselves for ever in beholding
 and loving God, but from the will of God, which doth both
 freely perfect our nature in so high a degree, and continue it
 so perfected. Under Man, no creature in the world is capable
 of felicity and bliss. First, because their chiefest perfection
 consisteth in that which is best for them, but not in that
 which is simply best, as ours doth. Secondly, because what-
 soever external perfection they tend unto, it is not better
 than themselves, as ours is. How just occasion have we
 therefore even in this respect with the Prophet to admire the
 goodness of God! "Lord, what is man, that thou shouldst
 "exalt him above the works of thy hands!" so far as to make
 thyself the inheritance of his rest and the substance of his
 felicity?

[4.] Now if men had not naturally this desire to be happy,
 how were it possible that all men should have it? All men
 have. Therefore this desire in man is natural. It is not in
 our power not to do the same; how should it then be in our
 power to do it coldly or remissly? So that our desire being

¹ Aug. de Trin. lib. ix. c. ult. [Ver-
 batim, "Appetitus, quo inhiatur rei
 "cognoscende, fit amor cognite."
 viii. 388.] "lasting." Matt. xxv. [46.] "They
 "shall be as the angels of God."
 Matt. xxii. [36.]
² 2 Tim. iv. 8; 1 Pet. v. 4.
³ "The just shall go into life ever-
 * Psalm viii. 4.

natural is also in that degree of earnestness whereunto nothing can be added. And is it probable that God should frame the hearts of all men so desirous of that which no man may obtain? It is an axiom of nature that natural desire cannot utterly be frustrate¹. This desire of ours being natural should be frustrate, if that which may satisfy the same were a thing impossible for man to aspire unto. Man doth seek a triple perfection²: first a sensual, consisting in those things which very life itself requirerth either as necessary supplements, or as beauties and ornaments thereof; then an intellectual, consisting in those things which none underneath man is either capable of or acquainted with; lastly a spiritual and divine, consisting in those things whereunto we tend by supernatural means here, but cannot here attain unto them. They that make the first of these three the scope of their whole life, are said by the Apostle³ to have no god but only their belly, to be earthly-minded men. Unto the second they bend themselves, who seek especially to excel in all such knowledge and virtue as doth most commend men. To this branch belongeth the law of moral and civil perfection. That there is somewhat higher than either of these two, no other proof doth need than the very process of man's desire, which being natural should be frustrate, if there were not some farther thing wherein it might rest at the length contented, which in the former it cannot do. For man doth not seem to rest satisfied, either with fruition of that wherewith his life is preserved, or with performance of such actions as advance him most deservedly in estimation; but doth further covet, yea oftentimes manifestly pursue with great sedulity and earnestness, that which cannot stand him in any stead for vital use; that which exceedeth the reach of sense; yea somewhat above capacity of reason, somewhat divine and heavenly, which with hidden exultation it rather surmiseth than conceiveth; somewhat it seeketh, and what that is directly it knoweth not, yet very intente desire thereof doth so incite it, that all other known delights and pleasures are

BOOK I.
Ch. vi. 6

¹ [Thom. A.] Comment. in Proem. ii. Metaph. l. 3. comprehensio esset
² impossibile, tunc desiderium esset
³ otiosum; et concessum est ab omnibus, quod nulla res est otiosa in
 VOL. I.

"fundamento nature et creature,"
 t. viii. p. 14, ed. Venet. 1552.]
¹ [Arist. Eth. Nic. l. v. 2.]
² Phil. iii. 19.

BOOK I. laid aside, they give place to the search of this but only suspected desire. If the soul of man did serve only to give him being in this life, then things appertaining unto this life would content him, as we see they do other creatures; which creatures enjoying what they live by seek no further, but in this contentation do shew a kind of acknowledgment that there is no higher good which doth any way belong unto them. With us it is otherwise. For although the beauties, riches, honours, sciences, virtues, and perfections of all men living, were in the present possession of one; yet somewhat beyond and above all this there would still be sought and earnestly thirsted for. So that Nature even in this life doth plainly claim and call for a more divine perfection than either of these two that have been mentioned.

[5] This last and highest estate of perfection whereof we speak is received of men in the nature of a Reward¹. Rewards do always presuppose such duties performed as are rewardable. Our natural means therefore unto blessedness are our works; nor is it possible that Nature should ever find any other way to salvation than only this. But examine the works which we do, and since the first foundation of the world what one can say, My ways are pure? Seeing then all flesh is guilty of that for which God hath threatened eternally to punish, what possibility is there this way to be saved? There resteth therefore either no way unto salvation, or if any, then surely a way which is supernatural, a way which could never have entered into the heart of man as much as once to conceive or imagine, if God himself had not revealed it extraordinarily. For which cause we term it the Mystery or secret way of salvation. And therefore St. Ambrose in this matter appealeth justly from man to God², "Cœli mysterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui seipsum ignoravit:—Let God himself that made me, let not man that knows not himself, be my instructor concerning the mystical way to heaven." "When men of excellent wit," saith Lactantius, "had wholly betaken themselves unto study, after farewell bidden unto all kind as well of private as public action, they spared no labour that might be spent in the

¹ "Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven." Matt. ² Ambros. contra Sym. [Ep. 18, v. 12. "Summa merces est ut § 2. t. ii. 835.]
³ "ipso perfuamur." Aug. de Doct.

"search of truth; holding it a thing of much more price to
 "seek and to find out the reason of all affairs as well divine as
 "human, than to stick fast in the toil of piling up riches and
 "gathering together heaps of honours. Howbeit, they both
 "did fail of their purpose, and got not as much as to quite¹
 "their charges; because truth which is the secret of the Most
 "High God, whose proper handy-work all things are, cannot
 "be compassed with that wit and those senses which are our
 "own. For God and man should be very near neighbours,
 "if man's cogitations were able to take a survey of the coun-
 "sels and appointments of that Majesty everlasting. Which
 "being utterly impossible, that the eye of man by itself should
 "look into the bosom of divine Reason; God did not suffer
 "him being desirous of the light of wisdom to stray any
 "longer up and down, and with bootless expense of travail to
 "wander in darkness that had no passage to get out by. His
 "eyes at the length God did open, and bestow upon him the
 "knowledge of the truth by way of Donative, to the end that
 "man might both be clearly convicted of folly, and being
 "through error out of the way, have the path that leadeth
 "unto immortality laid plain before him²." Thus far Lac-
 "tantius Firmianus, to shew that God himself is the teacher of
 the truth, whereby is made known the supernatural way of
 salvation and law for them to live in that shall be saved. In
 the natural path of everlasting life the first beginning is that

¹ [So A. and B.; "pait"; 1617, sup.
 —CC variation in Shakesp. Rich. II.
 5. 1. 43. Qq. Rom. and Jul. 2. 4. 204.
 Fol. Pericli. 3. 2. 18. Qq. "pait", where
 edd. read "pait".] 1686.

² "Magno et excellenti ingenio
 "viri, cum se doctrinae peritus de-
 "didissent, quicquid laboris poterat
 "impendi (contemptis omnibus et
 "privatis et publicis actionibus) ad
 "inquirenda veritatis studium con-
 "tulerunt, existimantes multo esse
 "preclariorum humanarum divinarum-
 "que rerum investigare ac scire
 "rationem, quam struenda opibus
 "aut cumulanda honoribus inhue-
 "rere. Sed neque adepti sunt id
 "quod volebant, et speram simul
 "quia veritas, id est arcanum summi

"Dei qui fecit omnia, ingenio ac
 "preceptis sensibus non potest com-
 "prehendi. Alioqui sibi inter
 "Deum hominemque distaret, si
 "consilia et dispositiones illius ma-
 "jestatis aeternae cogitatio asseque-
 "retur humana. Quod quia fieri
 "non potuit ut homini per seipsum
 "ratio divina notesceret, non est
 "passus hominem Deas lumen
 "sapientiae requirentem distans
 "aberrare, ac sine ullo laboris
 "effectu vagari per tenebras inex-
 "tricabiles. Aperuit oculos ejus
 "aliquando, et notionem veritatis
 "mentis suae fecit, ut et huma-
 "nam sapientiam nullam esse non-
 "straret, et erranti ac vago viam
 "consequenda immortalitatis osten-
 "deret." Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 1.

160 *No natural Hope of eternal Reward.—God's supernatural*BOOK I.
Ch. vi. 6.

ability of doing good, which God in the day of man's creation endued him with; from hence obedience unto the will of his Creator, absolute righteousness and integrity in all his actions; and last of all the justice of God rewarding the worthiness of his deserts with the crown of eternal glory. Had Adam continued in his first estate, this had been the way of life unto him and all his posterity. Wherein I confess notwithstanding with the wittiest of the school-divines¹, "That if we speak of strict justice, God could no way have been bound to requite man's labours in so large and ample a manner as human felicity doth import; inasmuch as the dignity of this exceedeth so far the other's value. But be it that God of his great liberality had determined in lieu of man's endeavours to bestow the same by the rule of that justice which best becometh him, namely, the justice of one that requieth nothing minglingly, but all with pressed and heaped and even over-enlarged measure; yet could it never hereupon necessarily be gathered, that such justice should add to the nature of that reward the property of everlasting continuance; sith possession of bliss, though it should be but for a moment, were an abundant retribution." But we are not now to enter into this consideration, how gracious and bountiful our good God might still appear in so rewarding the sons of men, albeit they should exactly perform whatsoever duty their nature bindeth them unto. Howsoever God did propose this reward, we that were to be rewarded must have done that which is required at our hands; we falling in the one, it were in nature an impossibility that the other should be looked for. The light of nature is never able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of bliss, but by performing exactly the duties and works of righteousness.

[6.] From salvation therefore and life all flesh being

¹ Scot. lib. iv. Sent. dist. 49. 6. "tali quidem justitia qualis decet
" Loquendo de stricta justitia, Deus " eum, scilicet supererogantis in
" nulli nostrum propter quacunque " præmiis; tamen non sequitur ex
" merita est debitor perfectionis " hoc necessario, quod per illam
" reddenda tam intense, propter " justitiam sit reddenda perfectio
" immoderatum excessum illius per- " perennis tanquam præmium, imo
" fectionis ultra illa merita. Sed " abundans feret retributio in beati-
" esto quod ex liberalitate sua deter- " tudine unius momenti." [p. 166.
" minasset merita conferre actum. Venet. 1596.]
" tam perfectum tanquam præmium,

BOOK I. Ch. xii. 1. --- mystery whereof is higher than the reach of the thoughts of men; concerning that Faith, Hope, and Charity, without which there can be no salvation, was there ever any mention made saving only in that law which God himself hath from heaven revealed? There is not in the world a syllable muttered with certain truth concerning any of these three, more than hath been supernaturally received from the mouth of the eternal God.

Laws therefore concerning these things are supernatural, both in respect of the manner of delivering them, which is divine; and also in regard of the things delivered, which are such as have not in nature any cause from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordained besides the course of nature, to rectify nature's obliquity withal.

XII. When supernatural duties are necessarily exacted, natural are not rejected as needless. The law of God therefore is, though principally delivered for instruction in the one, yet fraught with precepts of the other also. The Scripture is fraught even with laws of Nature; insomuch that Gratian¹ defining Natural Right, (whereby is meant the right which exacteth those general duties that concern men naturally even as they are men,) termeth "Natural Right, that which the "Books of the Law and the Gospel do contain." Neither is it vain that the Scripture aboundeth with so great store of laws in this kind: for they are either such as we of ourselves could not easily have found out, and then the benefit is not small to have them readily set down to our hands; or if they be so clear and manifest that no man endued with reason can lightly be ignorant of them, yet the Spirit as it were borrowing them from the school of Nature, as serving to prove things less manifest, and to induce a persuasion of somewhat which were in itself more hard and dark, unless it should in such sort be cleared, the very applying of them unto cases particular is not without most singular use and profit many ways for men's instruction. Besides, be they plain of themselves or obscure, the evidence of God's own testimony added to the natural assent of reason concerning the certainty of them, doth not a little comfort and confirm the same.

¹ "Jus naturale est, quod in Lege et Evangelio continetur." p. 1. d. 1. [Corp. Jur. Can. p. 2. L. 66. 1354.]

[2.] Wherefore inasmuch as our actions are conversant about things beset with many circumstances, which cause men of sundry wits to be also of sundry judgments concerning that which ought to be done; requisite it cannot but seem the rule of divine law should herein help our imbecility, that we might the more infallibly understand what is good and what evil. The first principles of the Law of Nature are easy; hard it were to find men ignorant of them. But concerning the duty which Nature's law doth require at the hands of men in a number of things particular, so far hath the natural understanding even of sundry whole nations been darkened, that they have not discerned no not gross iniquity to be sin¹. Again, being so prone as we are to fawn upon ourselves, and to be ignorant as much as may be of our own deformities, without the feeling sense whereof we are most wretched, even so much the more, because not knowing them we cannot so much as desire to have them taken away: how should our festered sores be cured, but that God hath delivered a law as sharp as the two-edged sword, piercing the very closest and most unsearchable corners of the heart², which the Law of Nature can hardly, human laws by no means possible, reach unto³. Hereby we know even secret concupiscence to be sin, and are made fearful to offend though it be but in a wandering cogitation. Finally, of those things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needful, and not impossible to be discerned by the

BOOK I.
Ch. xli. 2.

¹ Joseph. lib. secundo contra Apion. [c. 33.] "Lacedaemonii quomodo non sunt ob inhospitalitatem reprobendendi, sedumque neglectum nuptiarum? Ellenses vero et Thebani ob exitum cum masculis plane impudentem et contra naturam, quem recte et utiliter extirpare putabant? Cumque haec omnino perpetrarent, etiam suis legibus miscere." Vid. Th. 1, 2, q. 94, 4, 5, 6. "Lex naturae sic correpta fuit apud Germanos, ut atrocium non reputarent peccatum." [l. xi. 204.] August. (aut quisquis auctor est) lib. de quant. Nov. et Vet. Test. "Quis nesciat quid bona viue conveniat, aut ignoret quia quod sibi fieri non vult aliis

minime debeat facere? At vero ubi naturalis lex evasit oppressa consuetudine delinquenti, tunc oportuit manifestari scriptis, ut Dei iudicium omnes audirent [dignem manifestari, ut in Iudaea omnes homines audirent?] non quod peius obliterata est, sed quia maxima ejus auctoritate carebant, scholasticus studebatur, timor Dei in terra non erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi avida erat concupiscentia. Data [danda] ergo lex erat, ut et que sciebantur auctoritatem haberent, et que latere cogebant manifestarentur." Quest. iv. [l. iii. App. 44.]

Heb. v. 12.

BOOK I light of Nature itself; are there not many which few men's
 Ch. vi. > natural capacity, and some which no man's, hath been able to
 vii. > find out? They are, saith St. Augustine¹, but a few, and
 they endued with great ripeness of wit and judgment, free
 from all such affairs as might trouble their meditations,
 instructed in the sharpest and the subtlest points of learning,
 who have, and that very hardly, been able to find out but
 only the immortality of the soul. The resurrection of the flesh
 what man did ever at any time dream of, having not heard
 it otherwise than from the school of Nature? Whereby it
 appeareth how much we are bound to yield unto our Creator,
 the Father of all mercy, eternal thanks, for that he hath deli-
 vered his law unto the world, a law wherein so many things
 are laid open, clear, and manifest, as a light which otherwise
 would have been buried in darkness, not without the hazard,
 or rather not with the hazard but with the certain loss, of in-
 finite thousands of souls most undoubtedly now saved.

[3.] We see, therefore, that our sovereign good is desired
 naturally; that God the author of that natural desire had
 appointed natural means whereby to fulfil it; that man having
 utterly disabled his nature unto those means hath had other
 revealed from God, and hath received from heaven a law to
 teach him how that which is desired naturally must now super-
 naturally be attained. Finally, we see that because those
 latter exclude not the former quite and clean as unnecessary,
 therefore together with such supernatural duties as could not
 possibly have been otherwise known to the world, the same law
 that teacheth them, teacheth also with them such natural duties
 as could not by light of Nature easily have been known.

XIII. In the first age of the world God gave laws unto
 our fathers, and by reason of the number of their days their
 memories served instead of books; whereof the manifold
 imperfections and defects being known to God, he mercifully
 relieved the same by often putting them in mind of that
 whereof it behoved them to be specially mindful. In which
 respect we see how many times one thing hath been iterated
 unto sundry even of the best and wisest amongst them. After

¹ [“Humanis argumentationibus
 haec invenire conantes, vix pauci
 magno gaudent ingenio, abundan-
 ter quoque doctrinamque subtilissimis
 eruditi, ad indagandam solius
 animae immortalitatem pervenire
 potuerunt.” De Trin. lib. xiii.
 c. 12. tom. viii. 935.]

The benefits
 of having
 divine laws
 written.

that the lives of men were shortened, means more durable to preserve the laws of God from oblivion and corruption grew in use, not without precise direction from God himself. First therefore of Moyses¹ it is said, that he "wrote all the words of God²;" not by his own private motion and device: for God taketh this act to himself³, "I have written." Furthermore, were not the Prophets following commanded also to do the like? Unto the holy evangelist St. John, how often express charge is given, "Scribe," "Write these things⁴." Concerning the rest of our Lord's disciples, the words of St. Augustine are⁵, "Quicquid ille de suis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperavit."

[2.] Now, although we do not deny it to be a matter merely accidental unto the law of God to be written; although writing be not that which addeth authority and strength thereunto; finally, though his laws do require at our hands the same obedience howsoever they be delivered; his providence, notwithstanding, which hath made principal choice of this way to deliver them, who seeth not what cause we have to admire and magnify? The singular benefit that hath grown unto the world, by receiving the laws of God even by his own appointment committed unto writing, we are not able to esteem as the value thereof deserveth. When the question therefore is, whether we be now to seek for any revealed law of God elsewhere than only in the sacred Scripture; whether we do now stand bound in the sight of God to yield to traditions urged by the Church of Rome the same obedience and reverence we do to his written law, honouring equally and adoring both as divine: our answer is, No. They that so earnestly plead for the authority of tradition, as if nothing were more safely conveyed than that which spreadeth itself by report, and descendeth by relation of former generations unto the ages that succeed, are not all of them (surely a miracle it were if they should be) so simple as thus to persuade themselves; howsoever, if the simple

¹ [Hooker writes both *Moses* and *Moyse*, the Vulgate form, which is preserved in the French *Moyse*; *Moses*, generally in books i-iv. *Moyse*, towards the end of book v.] 1866.

² Exod. xxiv. 4.

³ Hos. viii. 12. [and Exod. xxiv. 12.]

⁴ Apoc. i. 11; xiv. 13.

⁵ Aug. lib. I. de Cons. Evang. cap. ult. [l. iii. pars 2. p. 26.]

BOOK I.
Ch. xiii. 2.

266 *Nothing superfluous in Holy Scripture.—In what sense*

BOOK I.
Ch. vii. 3

were so persuaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enjoy the benefit, as they account it, of that common error. What hazard the truth is in when it passeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becometh, they are not, they cannot possibly be ignorant. Let them that are indeed of this mind consider but only that little of things divine, which the¹ heathen have in such sort received. How miserable had the state of the Church of God been long ere this, if wanting the sacred Scripture we had no record of his laws, but only the memory of man receiving the same by report and relation from his predecessors?

[5.] By Scripture it hath in the wisdom of God seemed meet to deliver unto the world much but personally expedient to be practised of certain men; many deep and profound points of doctrine, as being the main original ground whereupon the precepts of duty depend; many prophecies, the clear performance whereof might confirm the world in belief of things unseen; many histories to serve as looking-glasses to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteousness of God towards all that faithfully serve, obey, and honour him; yea many entire meditations of piety, to be as patterns and precedents in cases of like nature; many things needful for explication, many for application unto particular occasions, such as the providence of God from time to time hath taken to have the several books of his holy ordinance written. Be it then that together with the principal necessary laws of God there are sundry other things written, whereof we might haply be ignorant and yet be saved: what? shall we hereupon think them needless? shall we esteem them as riotous branches wherewith we sometimes behold most pleasant vines overgrown? Surely no more than we judge our hands or our eyes superfluous, or what part soever, which if our bodies did want, we might notwithstanding any such defect retain still the complete being of men. As therefore a complete

¹ I mean those historical matters concerning the ancient state of the first world, the deluge, the sons of Noah, the children of Israel's deliverance out of Egypt, the life and doings of Moses their captain, with such like: the certain truth whereof delivered in Holy Scripture is of the heathen, which had them only by report, so intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the most which remaineth in them to be seen is the show of dark and obscure steps, where some part of the truth hath gone.

it contains all Things necessary to Salvation. 267

man is neither destitute of any part necessary, and hath some parts whereof though the want could not deprive him of his essence, yet to have them standeth him in singular stead in respect of the special uses for which they serve; in like sort all those writings which contain in them the Law of God, all those venerable books of Scripture, all those sacred tomes and volumes of Holy Writ, they are with such absolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing the lack whereof might deprive us of life, nor any thing in such wise aboundeth, that as being superfluous, unfruitful, and altogether needless, we should think it no loss or danger at all if we did want it.

XIV. Although the Scripture of God therefore be stored with infinite variety of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all sorts of laws, yet the principal intent of Scripture is to deliver the laws of duties supernatural. Often times it hath been in very solemn manner disputed, whether all things necessary unto salvation be necessarily set down in the Holy Scriptures or no¹. If we define that necessary unto salvation, whereby the way to salvation is in any sort made more plain, apparent, and easy to be known; then is there no part of true philosophy, no art of account, no kind of science rightly so called, but the Scripture must contain it. If only those things be necessary, as surely none else are, without the knowledge and practice whereof it is not the will and pleasure of God to make any ordinary grant of salvation; it may be notwithstanding and oftentimes hath been demanded, how the books of Holy Scripture contain in them all necessary things, when of things necessary the very chieftest is to know what books we are bound to esteem holy; which point is confessed impossible for the Scripture itself to teach. Whereunto we may answer with truth, that there is not in the world any art or science, which proposing unto itself an end (as every one doth some end or other) hath been therefore thought defective, if it have not delivered simply whatsoever is needful to the same end; but all kinds of knowledge have their certain bounds and limits; each

¹ "Utrum cognitio supernaturalis necessaria viatori sit sufficienter tradita in sacra Scriptura?" This question proposed by Scotus is affirmatively concluded. [In Sent. lib. 1. p. 10. D. et Resp. p. 2. K.]

268 *Many great Truths implied and express, in Scripture.*

BOOK I. of them presupposeth many necessary things learned in
Ch. xiv. 6. other sciences and known beforehand. He that should take
upon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading
causes, must needs deliver unto them whatsoever precepts
are requisite unto that end; otherwise he doth not the thing
which he taketh upon him. Seeing then no man can plead
eloquently unless he be able first to speak; it followeth
that ability of speech is in this case a thing most necessary.
Notwithstanding every man would think it ridiculous, that
he which undertaketh by writing to instruct an orator should
therefore deliver all the precepts of grammar; because his
profession is to deliver precepts necessary unto eloquent
speech, yet so that they which are to receive them be taught
beforehand so much of that which is thereunto necessary,
as comprehendeth the skill of speaking. In like sort, albeit
Scripture do profess to contain in it all things that are necessary
unto salvation; yet the meaning cannot be simply of
all things which are necessary, but all things that are necessary
in some certain kind or form; as all things which are
necessary, and either could not at all or could not easily be
known by the light of natural discourse; all things which
are necessary to be known that we may be saved, but
known with presupposal of knowledge concerning certain
principles whereof it receiveth us already persuaded, and
then instructeth us in all the residue that are necessary. In
the number of these principles one is the sacred authority
of Scripture. Being therefore persuaded by other means
that these Scriptures are the oracles of God, themselves
do then teach us the rest, and lay before us all the duties
which God requireth at our hands as necessary unto
salvation.

[2.] Further, there hath been some doubt likewise, whether
containing in Scripture do import express setting down in
plain terms, or else *comprehending* in such sort that by
reason we may from thence conclude all things which are
necessary. Against the former of these two constructions
instance hath sundry ways been given. For our belief in
the Trinity, the co-eternity of the Son of God with his
Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and
the Son, the duty of baptizing infants: these with such

other principal points, the necessity whereof is by none denied, are notwithstanding in Scripture nowhere to be found by express literal mention, only deduced they are out of Scripture by collection. This kind of comprehension in Scripture being therefore received, still there is doubt how far we are to proceed by collection, before the full and complete measure of things necessary be made up. For let us not think that as long as the world doth endure the wit of man shall be able to sound the bottom of that which may be concluded out of the Scripture; especially if "things contained by collection" do so far extend, as to draw in whatsoever may be at any time out of Scripture but probably and conjecturally surmised. But let *necessary* collection be made requisite, and we may boldly deny, that of all those things which at this day are with so great necessity urged upon this church under the name of reformed church-discipline, there is any one which their books hitherto have made manifest to be contained in the Scripture. Let them, if they can, allege but one properly belonging to their cause, and not common to them and us, and shew the deduction thereof out of Scripture to be necessary.

[3] It hath been already shewed, how all things necessary unto salvation in such sort as before we have maintained must needs be possible for men to know; and that many things are in such sort necessary, the knowledge whereof is by the light of Nature impossible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth that either all flesh is excluded from possibility of salvation, which to think were most barbarous; or else that God hath by supernatural means revealed the way of life so far forth as doth suffice. For this cause God hath so many times and ways spoken to the sons of men. Neither hath he by speech only, but by writing also, instructed and taught his Church. The cause of writing hath been to the end that things by him revealed unto the world might have the longer continuance, and the greater certainty of assurance, by how much that which standeth on record hath in both those respects preeminence above that which passeth from hand to hand, and hath no pens but the tongues, no books but the ears of men to record it. The several books of Scripture having had each some several occasion and particular purpose which

BOOK I.
Ch. 4th. p.

BOOK I. caused them to be written, the contents thereof are according
 Ch. xxi. 4. to the exigence of that special end whereunto they are
 intended. Hereupon it groweth that every book of Holy
 Scripture doth take out of all kinds of truth, natural¹, his-
 torical², foreign³, supernatural⁴, so much as the matter
 handled requireth.

Now forasmuch as there hath been reason alleged sufficient
 to conclude, that all things necessary unto salvation must be
 made known, and that God himself hath therefore revealed
 his will, because otherwise men could not have known so
 much as is necessary; his succeeding to speak to the world,
 since the publishing of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the
 delivery of the same in writing, is unto us a manifest token
 that the way of salvation is now sufficiently opened, and that
 we need no other means for our full instruction than God
 hath already furnished us withal.

[4.] The main drift of the whole New Testament is that
 which St. John setteth down as the purpose of his own
 history; ¹ "These things are written, that ye might believe
 "that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that in believing
 "ye might have life through his name." The drift of the
 Old that which the Apostle mentioneth to Timothy, ² "The
 "Holy Scriptures are able to make thee wise unto salvation."
 So that the general end both of Old and New is one;
 the difference between them consisting in this, that the Old
 did make wise by teaching salvation through Christ that
 should come, the New by teaching that Christ the Saviour
 is come, and that Jesus whom the Jews did crucify, and
 whom God did raise again from the dead, is he. When the
 Apostle therefore affirmeth unto Timothy, that the Old was
 able to make him wise to salvation, it was not his meaning
 that the Old alone can do this unto us which live sithence
 the publication of the New. For he speaketh with presupposal
 of the doctrine of Christ known also unto Timothy; and
 therefore first it is said, ³ "Continue thou in those things
 "which thou hast learned and art persuaded, knowing of
 "whom thou hast been taught them." Again, those Scrip-

¹ Eph. v. 29. ² 2 Tim. iii. 8. ³ Tit. i. 12. ⁴ 2 Pet. ii. 4.
⁵ John xx. 31. ⁶ 2 Tim. iii. 15. ⁷ 2 Tim. iii. 14.

tures he granteth were able to make him wise to salvation; but he addeth, ¹ "through the faith which is in Christ." Wherefore without the doctrine of the New Testament teaching that Christ hath wrought the redemption of the world, which redemption the Old did foreshew he should work, it is not the former alone which can on our behalf perform so much as the Apostle doth avouch, who presupposeth this when he magnifieth that so highly. And as his words concerning the books of ancient Scripture do not take place but with presupposal of the Gospel of Christ embraced; so our own words also, when we extol the complete sufficiency of the whole entire body of the Scripture, must in like sort be understood with this caution, that the benefit of nature's light be not thought excluded as unnecessary, because the necessity of a diviner light is magnified.

[5.] There is in Scripture therefore no defect, but that any man, what place or calling soever he hold in the Church of God, may have thereby the light of his natural understanding so perfected, that the one being relieved by the other, there can want no part of needful instruction unto any good work which God himself requireth, be it natural or supernatural, belonging simply unto men as men, or unto men as they are united in whatsoever kind of society. It sufficeth therefore that Nature and Scripture do serve in such full sort, that they both jointly, and not severally either of them, be so complete, that unto everlasting felicity we need not the knowledge of any thing more than these two may easily furnish our minds with on all sides²; and therefore they which add traditions, as a part of supernatural necessary truth, have not the truth, but are in error. For they only plead, that whatsoever God revealeth as necessary for all

¹ Verse 15. note: "Remember here to show the use of the law of nature in handling matters of religion. Are there not cases of salvation wherein a man may have controversie with infidels which believe not the Scriptures? And even with them which believe Scripture the law of nature notwithstanding is not without force, that any man to whom it is alleaged can cast it off as a thing impertinent." [Christ. Letter, p. 7: "Although you exclude traditions as a part of supernaturall truth, yet you infer that the light of nature teacheth some knowledge naturall which is necessarie to salvation." And p. 8: "What scripture approveth such a saying, that cases and matters of salvation bee determinable by any other lawe then of holy Scripture." Hooker, MS.

BOOK I. Christian men to do or believe, the same we ought to embrace, whether we have received it by writing or otherwise; which no man denieth: when that which they should confirm, who claim so great reverence unto traditions, is, that the same traditions are necessarily to be acknowledged divine and holy. For we do not reject them only because they are not in the Scripture, but because they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwise sufficiently by any reason be proved to be of God. That which is of God, and may be evidently proved to be so, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although unwritten, yet the selfsame force and authority with the written laws of God. It is by ours acknowledged, "that the Apostles did in every church institute and ordain some rites and customs serving for the seemliness of church-regiment, which rites and customs they have not committed unto writing!" Those rites and customs being known to be apostolical, and having the nature of things changeable, were no less to be accounted of in the Church than other things of the like degree; that is to say, capable in like sort of alteration, although set down in the Apostles' writings. For both being known to be apostolical, it is not the manner of delivering them unto the Church, but the author from whom they proceed, which doth give them their force and credit.

XV. Laws being imposed either by each man upon himself, or by a public society upon the particulars thereof, or by the nations of men upon every several society, or by the Lord himself upon any or every of these; there is not amongst these four kinds any one but containeth sundry both natural and positive laws. Impossible it is but that they should fall into a number of gross errors, who only take such laws for positive as have been made or invented of men, and holding this position hold also, that all positive and none but positive laws are mutable. Laws natural do always bind; laws positive not so, but only after they have been expressly and

Of laws positive contained in Scripture; the mutability of certain of them, and the general use of Scripture.

¹ Whicakerus adversus Bellarminum, quest. 6, cap. 6. [² Fatemus Apostolos in singulis ecclesiis ritus aliquos atque consuetudines, ordinis et decori causa, maxime, non autem scripsisse: quia hi

ritus non fuerunt perpetui futuri, sed liberi, qui pro commodo et temporum ratione mutari possunt.] Controv. adv. Bellarminum, Opp. l. 172. Controv. l. quest. 6, cap. 6. Genev. 1610.]

wittingly imposed. Laws positive there are in every of those kinds before mentioned. As in the first kind the promises which we have passed unto men, and the vows we have made unto God; for these are laws which we tie ourselves unto, and till we have so tied ourselves they bind us not. Laws positive in the second kind are such as the civil constitutions peculiar unto each particular commonweal. In the third kind the law of Heraldry in war is positive: and in the last all the judicials which God gave unto the people of Israel to observe. And although no laws but positive be mutable, yet all are not mutable which be positive. Positive laws are either permanent or else changeable, according as the matter itself is concerning which they were first made. Whether God or man be the maker of them, alteration they so far forth admit, as the matter doth exact.

[1] Laws that concern supernatural duties are all positive¹, and either concern men supernaturally as men, or else as parts of a supernatural society, which society we call the Church. To concern men as men supernaturally is to concern them at duties which belong of necessity to all, and yet could not have been known by any to belong unto them, unless God had opened them himself inasmuch as they do not depend upon any natural ground at all out of which they may be deduced, but are appointed of God to supply the defect of those natural ways of salvation, by which we are not now able to attain therunto. The Church being a supernatural society doth differ from natural societies in this, that the persons unto whom we associate ourselves, in the one are men simply considered as men, but they to whom we be joined in the other, are God, Angels, and holy men. Again the Church being both a society and a society supernatural, although as it is a society it have the selfsame original

¹ [To prevent any misapplication of this principle, it may be useful to compare Butler's Analogy, p. ii. c. 1. § 2; where moral precepts and duties are contrasted with positive in a manner which may at first appear inconsistent with Hooker's language. But the appearance of discrepancy will perhaps be removed, if it is considered that Hooker opposes the term Positive to Natural, in regard of our ability or inability to obtain the knowledge of a law without express revelation: Butler on the other hand opposes Positive to Moral, in regard of our ability or inability to discern the reasonableness of a law made known to us by revelation or otherwise.]

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BOOK I.
Ch. 2.
→→→

grounds which other politic societies have, namely, the natural inclination which all men have unto sociable life, and consent to some certain bond of association, which bond is the law that appointeth what kind of order they shall be associated in : yet unto the Church as it is a society supernatural this is peculiar, that part of the bond of their association which belong to the Church of God must be a law supernatural, which God himself hath revealed concerning that kind of worship which his people shall do unto him. The substance of the service of God therefore, so far forth as it hath in it any thing more than the Law of Reason doth teach, may not be invented of men, as it is amongst the heathens¹, but must be received from God himself, as always it hath been in the Church, saving only when the Church hath been forgetful of her duty.

[3.] Wherefore to end with a general rule concerning all the laws which God hath tied men unto : those laws divine that belong, whether naturally or supernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they live in politic society, or to men as they are of that politic society which is the Church, without any further respect had unto any such variable accident as the state of men and of societies of men and of the Church itself in this world is subject unto ; all laws that so belong unto men, they belong for ever, yea although they be Positive Laws, unless being positive God himself which made them alter them. The reason is, because the subject or matter of laws in general is thus far forth constant : which matter is that for the ordering whereof laws were instituted, and being instituted are not changeable without cause, neither can they have cause of change, when that which gave them their first institution remaineth for ever one and the same. On the other side, laws that were made for men or societies or churches, in regard of their being such as they do not always continue, but may perhaps be clean otherwise a while after, and so may require to be otherwise ordered than before ; the laws of God himself which are of this nature, no man endued with common sense will ever deny to be of a different constitution from the former, in respect of the one's

¹ "Their fear towards me was taught by the precept of men." Lev. xxix. 13.

constancy and the mutability of the other. And this doth seem to have been the very cause why St. John doth so peculiarly term the doctrine that teacheth salvation by Jesus Christ, *Ἐυαγγέλιον αἰώνιον*, "an eternal Gospel;" because there can be no reason wherefore the publishing thereof should be taken away, and any other instead of it proclaimed, as long as the world doth continue: whereas the whole law of rites and ceremonies, although delivered with so great solemnity, is notwithstanding clean abrogated, inasmuch as it had but temporary cause of God's ordaining it.

[4.] But that we may at the length conclude this first general introduction unto the nature and original birth, as of all other laws, so likewise of those which the sacred Scripture containeth, concerning the Author whereof even infidels have confessed that He can neither err nor deceive¹: albeit about things easy and manifest unto all men by common sense there needeth no higher consultation; because as a man whose wisdom is in weighty affairs admired would take it in some disdain to have his counsel solemnly asked about a toy, so the meanness of some things is such, that to search the Scripture of God for the ordering of them were to derogate from the reverend authority and dignity of the Scripture, no less than they do by whom Scriptures are in ordinary talk very idly applied unto vain and childish trifles: yet better it were to be superstitious than profane; to take from thence our direction even in all things great or small, than to wade through matters of principal weight and moment, without ever caring what the law of God hath either for or against our designs. Concerning the custom of the very Paganims, thus much Strabo witnesseth: "Men that are civil do lead their lives after one common law appointing them what to do. For that otherwise a multitude should with harmony amongst themselves concur in the doing of one thing, (for this is civilly to live,) or that they should in any sort manage community of life, it is not possible. Now laws or statutes are of two sorts. For they are either received from gods, or else from men.

¹ Apoc. xiv. 6. *Ἐξουαθή, ὅτις κατὰ φωνήματα ὄνει*
² Καυσιῶν θεοῦ ἡ θεοῦ ἀπαλαίω καὶ κατὰ λόγους ὄνει κατὰ φωνήματα ὄνει
ἀπαλαίω τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεόν καὶ τὸν λόγον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὄνει τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Plat. in *ὄνει αἰτίαι περὶ τῶν ἀποκαταστάσεων* fine 2 Polit. [p. 382 E.]



BOOK I. CH. IV. 4
 "And our ancient predecessors did surely most honour and reverence that which was from the gods; for which cause consultation with oracles was a thing very usual and frequent in their times¹. Did they make so much account of the voice of their gods, which in truth were no gods; and shall we neglect the precious benefit of conference with those oracles of the true and living God, whereof so great store is left to the Church, and whereunto there is so free, so plain, and so easy access for all men? "By thy commandments²" (this was David's confession unto God) "thou hast made me wiser than mine enemies." Again, "I have had more understanding than all my teachers, because thy testimonies are my meditations." What pains would not they have bestowed in the study of these books, who travelled sea and land to gain the treasure of some few days' talk with men whose wisdom the world did make any reckoning of? That little which some of the heathens did chance to hear, concerning such matter as the sacred Scripture plentifully containeth, they did in wonderful sort affect; their speeches³ as oft as they make mention thereof are strange, and such as themselves could not utter as they did other things, but still acknowledged that their wits, which did every where else conquer hardness, were with profoundness here over-matched. Wherefore seeing that God hath endued us with sense, to the end that we might perceive such things as this present life doth need; and with reason, lest that which sense cannot reach unto, being both now and also in regard of a future estate hereafter necessary to be known, should lie obscure; finally, with the heavenly support of prophetic revelation, which doth open those hidden mysteries that reason could never have been able to find out⁴, or to have known the

¹ Παλαιὰ ἔβουε δὲ προσηγορίας κούρη, ἴδωτα. Ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑρμηνεύοντες ἀλλήλους (ἕνα ἢ τὸν ἀποκρίσθησαν), καὶ ἄλλως αὖτε εἰς αὐτὸν ἴδωτα. Ἐν δὲ παλαιῶν ἀποκρίσεσιν ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλων, ἐν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀποκρίσθησαν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἑαυτοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀποκρίσθησαν ἢ τῶν παλαιοῦ. Strab. Geogr. lib. xvi. [c. 38. v. vi. p. 361, Lips. 1811.]

² Psalm cxix. 98.

³ Vide Orphet Carmina. [Cf. quotation in iv. 1. and fragments in Justin M. ad Genes. 15. Euseb. Prop. xlii. 12. Proclus in Timæum, &c., printed in the Tauchnitz ed. of the Orphica, 1829, pp. 133-139.—1886.]

⁴ Ἐν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, κρημνιστὶς ἢ κρημνιστὶς φέρονται. Philo de Mos. [lib. ii. in init. p. 653. Paris, 1640.]



necessity of them unto our everlasting good: use we the precious gifts of God unto his glory and honour that gave them, seeking by all means to know what the will of our God is; what righteous before him; in his sight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truly and faithfully do it.

XVI. Thus far therefore we have endeavoured in part to A^{conclu-} open, of what nature and force laws are, according unto their sion shew-
several kinds; the law which God with himself hath eternally ing how all
set down to follow in his own works; the law which he hath this be-
made for his creatures to keep; the law of natural and neces- longeth to
sary agents; the law which angels in heaven obey; the law the cause in
whereunto by the light of reason men find themselves bound question.
in that they are men; the law which they make by composi-
tion for multitudes and politic societies of men to be guided
by; the law which belongeth unto each nation; the law that
concerneth the fellowship of all; and lastly the law which God
himself hath supernaturally revealed. It might peradventure
have been more popular and more plausible to vulgar ears, if
this first discourse had been spent in extolling the force of laws,
in shewing the great necessity of them when they are good, and
in aggravating their offence by whom public laws are injuriously
traded. But forasmuch as with such kind of matter the
passions of men are rather stirred one way or other, than their
knowledge any way set forward unto the trial of that whereof
there is doubt made; I have therefore turned aside from that
beaten path, and chosen though a less easy yet a more profit-
able way in regard of the end we propose. Lest therefore any
man should marvel whereunto all these things tend, the drift
and purpose of all is this, even to shew in what manner, as every
good and perfect gift, so this very gift of good and perfect laws
is derived from the Father of lights¹; to teach men a reason
why just and reasonable laws are of so great force, of so great
use in the world; and to inform their minds with some method
of reducing the laws whereof there is present controversy unto
their first original causes, that so it may be in every particular
ordinance thereby the better discerned, whether the same be
reasonable, just, and righteous, or no. Is there any thing
which can either be thoroughly understood or soundly judged
of, till the very first causes and principles from which originally

¹ James i. 17.

BOOK I. it springeth be made manifest? If all parts of knowledge
 Ch. xvi. x. have been thought by wise men to be then most orderly de-
 livered and proceeded in, when they are drawn to their first
 original¹; seeing that our whole question concerneth the
 quality of ecclesiastical laws, let it not seem a labour super-
 fluous that in the entrance thereunto all these several kinds of
 laws have been considered, inasmuch as they all concur as
 principles, they all have their forcible operations therein,
 although not all in like apparent and manifest manner. By
 means whereof it cometh to pass that the force which they
 have is not observed of many.

[2.] Easier a great deal it is for men by law to be taught what
 they ought to do, than instructed how to judge as they should
 do of law: the one being a thing which belongeth generally
 unto all, the other such as none but the wiser and more judi-
 cious sort can perform. Yea, the wisest are always touching
 this point the readiest to acknowledge, that soundly to judge
 of a law is the weightiest thing which any man can take upon
 him². But if we will give judgment of the laws under which
 we live; first let that law eternal be always before our eyes, as
 being of principal force and moment to breed in religious minds
 a dutiful estimation of all laws, the use and benefit whereof we
 see; because there can be no doubt but that laws apparently
 good are (as it were) things copied out of the very tables of
 that high everlasting law; even as the book of that law hath
 said concerning itself, "By me kings reign, and "by me "princes
 "decree justice³." Not as if men did behold that book and
 accordingly frame their laws; but because it worketh in
 them, because it discovereth and (as it were) readeth itself
 to the world by them, when the laws which they make are
 righteous. Furthermore, although we perceive not the
 goodness of laws made, nevertheless sith things in them-
 selves may have that which we peradventure discern not,
 should not this breed a fear in our hearts, how we speak
 or judge in the worse part concerning that, the unadvised

¹ Arist. Phys. lib. i. cap. 1. [τὸ
 εἶδος καὶ τὸ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τὸ ἀποφασίζον, ὅτι οὐκ οὐκ
 ἀρχὴν ἢ οὐκ ἔσται, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 ἀρχῆς τὸ εἶδος οὐκ ἀποφασίζον
 ἔσται, ὅτι οὐκ οὐκ ἀποφασίζον.]
² Arist. Ethic. x. [c. 10.] Τὸ εἶδος
 ἀποφασίζον, ὅτι οὐκ οὐκ ἀποφασίζον
 ἔσται, ὅτι οὐκ οὐκ ἀποφασίζον.
³ Prov. viii. 15.



disgrace whereof may be no mean dishonour to Him, BOOK I.
towards whom we profess all submission and awe? Surely Ch. xvi. 5, 4
there must be very manifest iniquity in laws, against which
we shall be able to justify our contumelious invectives. The
chiefest root whereof, when we use them without cause, is
ignorance how laws inferior are derived from that supreme
or highest law.

[3.] The first that receive impression from thence are
natural agents. The law of whose operations might be
haply thought less pertinent, when the question is about
laws for human actions, but that in those very actions which
most spiritually and supernaturally concern men, the rules
and axioms of natural operations have their force. What
can be more immediate to our salvation than our persuasion
concerning the law¹ of Christ towards his Church? What
greater assurance of love towards his Church, than the know-
ledge of that mystical union, whereby the Church is become
as near unto Christ as any one part of his flesh is unto other?
That the Church being in such sort his he must needs protect
it, what proof more strong than if a manifest law so require,
which law it is not possible for Christ to violate? And what
other law doth the Apostle for this allege, but such as is
both common unto Christ with us, and unto us with other
things natural; "No man hateth his own flesh, but doth
"love and cherish it?"² The axioms of that law therefore,
whereby natural agents are guided, have their use in the
moral, yea, even in the spiritual actions of men, and conse-
quently in all laws belonging unto men howsoever.

[4.] Neither are the Angels themselves so far severed from
us in their kind and manner of working, but that between
the law of their heavenly operations and the actions of men in
this our state of mortality such correspondence there is, as
maketh it expedient to know in some sort the one, for the
other's more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge

¹ [The context leads to the suspi-
cion that Hooker wrote "the law of
"Christ." But the original edition
reads "laws," and the list of errata
at the end, which is carefully made,
as appears, by the author himself,
offers no correction: neither does
Dr. Spenser's edition, at least the
reprint of it in 1632.—Spenser's ed.
1604, reads as the first ed. "laws."
It is no doubt the right reading—
1886.]
² Ephes. v. 29.

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BOOK I
Ch. viii. 2

themselves "fellow-servants"¹ with the sons of men, but that both having one Lord, there must be some kind of law which is one and the same to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter is to our weaker both a pattern and a spur? Or would the Apostles, speaking of that which belongeth unto saints as they are linked together in the bond of spiritual society², so often make mention how Angels therewith are delighted, if in things publicly done by the Church we are not somewhat to respect what the Angels of heaven do? Yea, so far hath the Apostle Saint Paul proceeded, as to signify³, that even about the outward orders of the Church which serve but for comeliness, some regard is to be had of Angels, who best like us when we are most like unto them in all parts of decent demeanour. So that the law of Angels we cannot judge altogether impertinent unto the affairs of the Church of God.

[5.] Our largeness of speech how men do find out what things reason blindeth them of necessity to observe, and what it guideth them to choose in things which are left as arbitrary; the care we have had to declare the different nature of laws which severally concern all men, from such as belong unto men either civilly or spiritually associated, such as pertain to the fellowship which nations, or which Christian nations, have amongst themselves, and in the last place such as concerning every or any of these God himself hath revealed by his Holy Word: all serveth but to make manifest, that as the actions of men are of sundry distinct kinds, so the laws thereof must accordingly be distinguished. There are in men operations, some natural, some rational, some supernatural, some politic, some finally ecclesiastical; which if we measure not each by his own proper law, whereas the things themselves are so different, there will be in our understanding and judgment of them confusion.

As that first error sheweth, whereon our opposites in this cause have grounded themselves. For as they rightly maintain that God must be glorified in all things, and that the actions of men cannot tend unto his glory unless they be framed after his law; so it is their error to think that the only law which God hath appointed unto men in that behalf

¹ Apoc. xix. 10.

² 1 Pet. i. 12; Ephes. iii. 10; 1 Tim. v. 21.

³ 1 Cor. xi. 10.

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is the sacred Scripture. By that which we work naturally, as when we breathe, sleep, move, we set forth the glory of God as natural agents do¹, albeit we have no express purpose to make that our end, nor any advised determination therein to follow a law, but do that we do (for the most part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reasonable and moral actions another law taketh place; a law by the observation whereof² we glorify God in such sort, as no creature else under man is able to do; because other creatures have not judgment to examine the quality of that which is done by them, and therefore in that they do they neither can accuse nor approve themselves. Men do both, as the Apostle teacheth; yea, those men which have no written law of God to shew what is good or evil, carry written in their hearts the universal law of mankind, the Law of Reason, whereby they judge as by a rule which God hath given unto all men for that purpose³. The law of reason doth somewhat direct men how to honour God as their Creator; but how to glorify God in such sort as is required, to the end he may be an everlasting Saviour, this we are taught by divine law, which law both ascertaineth the truth and supplieth unto us the want of that other law. So that in moral actions, divine law helpeth exceedingly the law of reason to guide man's life; but in supernatural it alone guideth.

Proceed we further; let us place man in some public society with others, whether civil or spiritual; and in this case there is no remedy but we must add yet a further law. For although even here likewise the laws of nature and reason be of necessary use, yet somewhat over and besides them is necessary, namely human and positive law, together with that law which is of commerce between grand societies, the law of nations, and of nations Christian. For which cause the law of God hath likewise said, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers⁴." The public power of all societies is above every soul contained in the same societies. And the principal use of that power is to give laws unto all that are under it; which laws in such case we must obey, unless there be reason shewed which may necessarily enforce that the law of Reason or of God doth enjoin the contrary.

¹ Psalm cxlviii. 7, 8, 9. ² Rom. i. 21. ³ Rom. ii. 15. ⁴ Rom. xiii. 1.

BOOK I.
Ch. xiv. 6, 7

Because except our own private and but probable resolutions be by the law of public determinations overruled, we take away all possibility of sociable life in the world. A plainer example whereof than ourselves we cannot have. How cometh it to pass that we are at this present day so rent with mutual contentions, and that the Church is so much troubled about the polity of the Church? No doubt if men had been willing to learn how many laws their actions in this life are subject unto, and what the true force of each law is, all these controversies might have died the very day they were first brought forth.

[6.] It is both commonly said, and truly, that the best men otherwise are not always the best in regard of society. The reason whereof is, for that the law of men's actions is one, if they be respected only as men; and another, when they are considered as parts of a politic body. Many men there are, than whom nothing is more commendable when they are singled; and yet in society with others none less fit to answer the duties which are looked for at their hands¹. Yea, I am persuaded, that of them with whom in this cause we strive, there are whose betters amongst men would be hardly found, if they did not live amongst men, but in some wilderness by themselves. The cause of which their disposition so unframable unto societies wherein they live, is, for that they discern not aright what place and force these several kinds of laws ought to have in all their actions. Is there question either concerning the regimen of the Church in general, or about conformity between one church and another, or of ceremonies, offices, powers, jurisdictions in our own church? Of all these things they judge by that rule which they frame to themselves with some show of probability, and what seemeth in that sort convenient, the same they think themselves bound to practise; the same by all means they labour mightily to uphold; whatsoever any law of man to the contrary hath determined they weigh it not. Thus by following the law of private reason, where the law of public should take place, they breed disturbance.

[7.] For the better inuring therefore of men's minds with
¹ Παλλὰν γὰρ ἐν πόλει οὐκ αἰσίου ἐπιτελεῖται ἀποστολήν. Arist. Ethic. τῆ ἀρετῆς ἀποστολήν ἀποδοῦναι, ἐν βίβλ. v. cap. 3.

the true distinction of laws, and of their several force according to the different kind and quality of our actions, it shall not per-adventure be amiss to shew in some one example how they all take place. To seek no further, let but that be considered, than which there is not any thing more familiar unto us, our food.

What things are food and what are not we judge naturally by sense¹; neither need we any other law to be our director in that behalf than the selfsame which is common unto us with beasts.

But when we come to consider of food, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodness hath provided for all things living²; the law of Reason doth here require the duty of thankfulness at our hands, towards him at whose hands we have it. And lest appetite in the use of food should lead us beyond that which is meet, we owe in this case obedience to that law of Reason, which teacheth mediocrity in meats and drinks. The same things divine law teacheth also, as at large we have shewed it doth all parts of moral duty, whereunto we all of necessity stand bound, in regard of the life to come³.

¹ Job xxiv. 3.
² Psalm cxlv. 15, 16.
³ [Chr. Letter, p. 13: "If from
 "sincere and sincere virtues (as you
 "say) full joy and felicitie ariseth,
 "and that we all of necessitie stand
 "bound unto all partes of morall
 "dutie in regarde of life to come,
 "and God requireth more at the
 "handes of men unto happines, then
 "such a naked believe, as Christ
 "calleth the worke of God: alas
 "what shall we poore sinful wretches
 "doe, &c." Hooker, MS. note:
 "Repent, and believe." And again,
 Chr. Letter, ib.: "Tell us . . . whether
 "there be not other sufficient causes
 "to induce a Christian to godlines
 "and honestie of life, such as is the
 "glorie of God our Father; his great
 "mercies in Christ; his love to us;
 "example to others, but that we
 "must do it to merit or to make
 "perfit tha which Christ hath done
 "for us." Hooker, MS. note:
 "Your godfathers and godmothers
 "have much to answer unto God
 "for not seing you better cate-
 "chised.
 "A thing necessarie as you graunt

"that by good workes we should
 "seeke God's glory, shew ourselves
 "thankfull for his mercyes in Christ,
 "answer his loving kindness in-
 "wardes us, and give other men
 "good example. If then these things
 "be necessarie unto eernall life,
 "and workes necessarily to be done
 "for these ends, how should workes
 "bee but necessary unto the last
 "end, seing the next and nearest
 "cannot be attained without them?
 "And is there neither heaven nor
 "hell, neither reward nor punish-
 "ment hereafter, to be respected
 "here in the leading of our lives?
 "When thagooles doth deterre from
 "sinne, are his arguments only
 "these? only these his reasons when
 "he stirreth unto workes of right-
 "eousness?
 "See Euseb. Emisenus where
 "he speaketh of Dorcas his gar-
 "ments made for the poore." (De
 "Init. Quadrag. Bibl. Patr. Colon.
 "1618, v. 551). "Oratombus; in-
 "quit, 'et elemosynis purgantur
 "peccata: per utramque ergo rem,
 "sed maxime per elemosynam, Dei
 "misericordia requirenda est. Opor-

284 *Distinctions of Laws exemplified in Laws regarding Diet.*

BOOK I. But of certain kinds of food the Jews sometime had, and we ourselves likewise have, a mystical, religious, and supernatural use, they of their paschal lamb and oblations, we of our bread and wine in the Eucharist; which use none but divine law could institute.

Now as we live in civil society, the state of the commonwealth wherein we live both may and doth require certain laws concerning food¹; which laws, saving only that we are members of the commonwealth where they are of force, we should not need to respect as rules of action, whereas now in their place and kind they must be respected and obeyed.

Yea, the selfsame matter is also a subject wherein sometime ecclesiastical laws have place; so that unless we will be

"set itaque ut sibi res utraque con-
sentiat: illa rogat, hæc impetrat;
"illa quodammodo iudicis audien-
"tiam deprecatur, hæc gratiam pro-
"meretur; illa oculum palat, hæc
"aperit; illa prodiit desiderium, hæc
"desiderii procurat effectum: illa
"supplicat, sed supplicacionem levis
"commendat. Sic laudabilia Tabu-
"læ, que in Actibus Apostolorum
"interpretata dicuntur *Dorcæ*, in ope-
"ribus bonis vitæ diem claudens,
"evolante anima corpus relinquens,
"cum jam omnibus et operationis
"et vitæ renuntiasset officiis, sentes
"accurrunt viduam, pauperes adgre-
"gantur riuicas et vestes quas
"faciebat illi *Dorcæ* caelo osten-
"dentes, conveniunt Deum: testi-
"monia meritorum clamant; de-
"functæ operatrici, vox operum
"bona: que in sæculo gesserat
"consequuntur animam in aliud
"sæculum; consequuntur et revol-
"vuntur; redæque de loco mortis
"ad vitam præmittunt. Itaque in-
"dumenta pauperum hic osten-
"duntur, illic operantur; hic adhuc
"præbent usum, illic jam tribuunt
"præmium: quam mira et pretiosa
"merita largitiæ! Hic adhuc usen-
"tium algentes humeros calefaci-
"bant, etiam illic largitricis animam
"refrigerabant. Unde et nos,
"charissimi, animas nostras morti
"obnoxias piis operibus suscitemus.
"Dabunt absque dubio æternam
"vitam, que aliquoties etiam tem-

"porariam reddiderunt." Who was
author of this Homily is uncertain;
evidently not Eusebius of Emesa.
It might be Salvian, Eucherius of
Lyons, or some other Father of the
Gallican Church in the fourth or
fifth century. See Cave, Hist. Lit.
i. 17, and E. F. B. vi.]

On this whole subject Hooker
says, "Locke S. Augustin's booke,
"De Fide et Operibus." (of which
the following is a specimen: "Hoc
"est enim evangelizare Christum,
"non tantum dicere que sunt cre-
"denda de Christo, sed etiam que
"observanda ei qui accedit ad com-
"pagnem corpora Christi, immo vero
"cuncta dicere que sunt credenda de
"Christo, non solum cujus sit filius,
"unde secundum divinitatem, unde
"secundum carnem genitus, que
"perperus et quare, que sit virtus
"resurrectionis ejus, quod donum
"Spiritus promissit dederique fide-
"libus; sed etiam qualia membra,
"in quibus sit caput, que rat, laudant,
"diligat, liberet, atque ad æternam
"vitam honoremque perducatur. Hæc
"cum dicuntur, aliquando breviter
"atque concisius, aliquando latius
"et uberius, Christus evangelizatur;
"et tamen non solum quod ad fidem,
"solum pertinet, non prætermittitur."
i. vi. 172, F. c. ix. see also c. x.
xiv.] [See § Eliz. c. 5. § 14. 15; 27
Eliz. c. 11; 35 Eliz. c. 7. § 22.]

authors of confusion in the Church, our private discretion, which otherwise might guide us a contrary way, must here submit itself to be that way guided, which the public judgment of the Church hath thought better. In which case that of Zonaras concerning fasts may be remembered. "Fastings are good, but let good things be done in good and convenient manner. He that transgresseth in his fasting the orders of the holy fathers," the positive laws of the Church of Christ, must be plainly told, "that good things do lose the grace of their goodness, when in good sort they are not performed".

And as here men's private fancies must give place to the higher judgment of that Church which is in authority a mother over them; so the very actions of whole churches have, in regard of commerce and fellowship with other churches, been subject to laws concerning food, the contrary unto which laws had else been thought more convenient for them to observe; as by that order of abstinence from strangled and blood³ may appear; an order grounded upon that fellowship which the churches of the Gentiles had with the Jews.

Thus we see how even one and the selfsame thing is under divers considerations conveyed through many laws; and that to measure by any one kind of law all the actions of men were to confound the admirable order, wherein God hath disposed all laws, each as in nature, so in degree, distinct from other.

[R.] Wherefore that here we may briefly end: of Law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power, both⁴ Angels and men and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.

¹ [Καλὸν αἰεὶ ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ἐν εὐχῇ εὐχὰς ποιῆσαι. Ἐὶ δὲ εἰς θεωρίας ἀποστολικὰς ἢ πατερικὰς ὅτις παραβλασφῶνται, ἀποφεύγειν.] See also καλὸν αἰεὶ εὐχὰς, ὅπως αὐτὰς ποιῆσαι. ² Acts xv. 20. ³ "But," 1st ed., corrected in Zonar. in Can. Apost. 66 p. 34. Spenser's ed. 1604 to "both." [Ap. Bevering. Synod. t. i. p. 43. 1886.]

BOOK I.
Ch. vii. 2.



THE SECOND BOOK.

CONCERNING THEIR FIRST POSITION WHO URGE REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: NAMELY, THAT SCRIPTURE IS THE ONLY RULE OF ALL THINGS WHICH IN THIS LIFE MAY BE DONE BY MEN.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS SECOND BOOK.

- I. An answer to their first proof brought out of Scripture, Prov. ii. 9.
- II. To their second, 1 Cor. x. 31.
- III. To their third, 1 Tim. iv. 3.
- IV. To their fourth, Rom. xiv. 23.
- V. To their proofs out of Fathers, who dispute negatively from authority of Holy Scripture.
- VI. To their proof by the Scripture's custom of disputing from divine authority negatively.
- VII. An examination of their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of men's actions and persuasions.
- VIII. A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

BOOK II.
Ch. I.

AS that which in the title hath been proposed for the matter whereof we treat, is only the ecclesiastical law whereby we are governed; so neither is it my purpose to maintain any other thing than that which therein truth and reason shall approve. For concerning the dealings of men who administer government, and unto whom the execution of that law belongeth; they have their Judge who sitteth in heaven, and before whose tribunal-seat they are accountable for whatsoever abuse or corruption, which (being worthily misliked in this church) the want either of care or of conscience in them hath bred. We are no patrons of those things therefore, the best defence whereof is speedy redress and amendment. That which is of God we defend, to the uttermost of that ability which he hath given; that which is otherwise, let it wither even in the root from whence it hath sprung¹. Wherefore all these abuses being severed and set apart,

¹ [Acts v. 28, 29.]

which rise from the corruption of men and not from the laws themselves; come we to those things which in the very whole entire form of our church polity have been (as we persuade ourselves) injuriously blamed by them, who endeavour to overthrow the same, and instead thereof to establish a much worse; only through a strong misconceit they have, that the same is grounded on divine authority.

Now whether it be that through an earnest longing desire to see things brought to a peaceable end, I do but imagine the matters whereof we contend to be fewer than indeed they are; or else for that in truth they are fewer when they come to be discussed by reason, than otherwise they seem when by heat of contention they are divided into many slips, and of every branch an heap is made: surely, as now we have drawn them together, choosing out those things which are requisite to be severally all discussed, and omitting such mean specialities as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterwards of themselves; I know no cause why either the number or the length of these controversies should diminish our hope of seeing them end with concord and love on all sides; which of his infinite love and goodness the Father of all peace and unity grant.

[1] Unto which scope that our endeavour may the more directly tend, it seemeth fittest that first those things be examined, which are as seeds from whence the rest that ensue have grown. And of such the most general is that wherewith we are here to make our entrance: a question not moved (I think) any where in other churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to be soon (I trust) determined. The rather, for that it hath grown from no other root, than only a desire to enlarge the necessary use of the Word of God; which desire hath begotten an error enlarging it further than (as we are persuaded) soundness of truth will bear. For whereas God hath left sundry kinds of laws unto men, and by all those laws the actions of men are in some sort directed; they hold that one only law, the Scripture, must be the rule to direct in all things, even so far as to the "taking up of a rush or "straw". About which point there should not need any

¹ T. C. I. B. p. 55, 60. [The "that St. Paul speaketh here of words are (p. 59). "When he saith "civil, private, and indifferent ac-

BOOK II.
CH. I.
question to grow, and that which is grown might presently end, if they did yield but to these two restraints: the first is, not to extend the actions whereof they speak so low as that instance doth import of taking up a straw, but rather keep themselves at the least within the compass of moral actions, actions which have in them vice or virtue: the second, not to exact at our hands for every action the knowledge of some place of Scripture out of which we stand bound to deduce it, as by divers testimonies they seek to enforce; but rather as the truth is, so to acknowledge, that it sufficeth if such actions be framed according to the law of Reason; the general axioms, rules, and principles of which law being so frequent in Holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard even out of Scripture such duties may be deduced by some kind of consequence, (as by long circuit of deduction it may be that even all truth out of any truth may be concluded¹;) howbeit no man bound in such sort to deduce all his actions out of Scripture, as if either the place be to him unknown whereon they may be concluded, or the reference unto that place not presently considered, the action shall in that respect be condemned as unlawful. In this we dissent, and this we are presently to examine.

The first pretended proof of the first position out of Scripture, Prov. II. 9

[3.] In all parts of knowledge rightly so termed things most general are most strong. Thus it must be, inasmuch as the certainty of our persuasion touching particulars dependeth altogether upon the credit of those generalities out of which they grow. Albeit therefore every cause admit not such infallible evidence of proof, as leaveth no possibility of doubt or scruple behind it; yet they who claim the general assent

"tions, as of eating this or that
"kind of meat (than which there
"can be nothing more indifferent)
"he might easily have seen that the
"sentence of the Apostle reacheth
"even to his case, of taking up a
"straw." Which refers to Whigg.
Def. 21; "It is not true that what-
"soever cannot be proved in the
"word of God is not of faith, for
"then to take up a straw... were
"against faith, and so deadly sin,
"because it is not found in the Law
"of God." Again, T. C. ii. 60.
"Seemeth it so strange a thing

"unto him that a man should not
"take up a straw but for some
"purpose, and for some good pur-
"pose?" &c.]
[See Bishop Butler, Analogy,
part I, ch. vii: "Things seemingly
"the most insignificant imaginable
"are perpetually observed to be
"necessary conditions to other
"things of the greatest importance;
"so that any one thing whatever
"may, for ought we know to the
"contrary, be a necessary condition
"to any other." p. 182. ed. 1736.]

of the whole world unto that which they teach, and do not fear to give very hard and heavy sentence upon as many as refuse to embrace the same, must have special regard that their first foundations and grounds be more than slender probabilities. This whole question which hath been moved about the kind of church regiment, we could not but for our own resolution's sake endeavour to unrip and sift; following therein as near as we might the conduct of that judicial method which serveth best for invention of truth. By means whereof, having found this the head theorem of all their discourses, who plead for the change of ecclesiastical government in England, namely, "That the Scripture of God is "in such sort the rule of human actions, that simply whatsoever we do and are not by it directed thereunto, the "same is sin;" we hold it necessary that the proofs hereof be weighed. Be they of weight sufficient or otherwise, it is not ours to judge and determine; only what difficulties there are which as yet withhold our assent, till we be further and better satisfied, I hope no indifferent amongst them will scorn or refuse to hear.

[4.] First therefore whereas they allege, "That Wisdom" doth teach men "every good way¹," and have thereupon inferred that no way is good in any kind of action unless wisdom do by Scripture lead unto it; see they not plainly how they restrain the manifold ways which wisdom hath to teach men by, unto one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The bounds of wisdom are large, and within them much is contained. Wisdom was Adam's instructor in Paradise; wisdom endued the fathers who lived before the law with the knowledge of holy things; by the wisdom of the law of God David attained to excel others in understanding²; and Salomon likewise to excel David by the selfsame wisdom of God teaching him many things besides the law. The ways of well-doing are in number even as

¹ T. C. l. l. p. 20: "I say, that
"the word of God containeth what-
"soever things can fall into any
"part of man's life. For so Salomon
"saith in the second chapter of the
"Proverbs, 'My son, if thou receive
"my words, &c. then thou shalt
"understand justice, and judgment."
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"and equity, and every good way!"
[In T. C. literally it is, "The word
"of God containeth the direction
"of all things pertaining to the
"Church, yea, of whatsoever things
"can fall into any part of man's
"life." (p. 14.)
² Psalm cxix. 99.

BOOK II. many as are the kinds of voluntary actions ; so that whatsoever we do in this world and may do it ill, we shew ourselves therein by well-doing to be wise. Now if wisdom did teach men by Scripture not only all the ways that are right and good in some certain kind, according to that of St. Paul ¹ concerning the use of Scripture, but did simply without any manner of exception, restraint, or distinction, teach every way of doing well ; there is no art, but Scripture should teach it, because every art doth teach the way how to do something or other well. To teach men therefore wisdom profeseth, and to teach them every good way ; but not every good way by one way of teaching. Whatsoever either men on earth or the Angels of heaven do know, it is as a drop of that usemptiable fountain of wisdom ; which wisdom hath diversely imparted her treasures unto the world. As her ways are of sundry kinds, so her manner of teaching is not merely one and the same. Some things she openeth by the sacred books of Scripture ; some things by the glorious works of Nature : with some things she inspirith them from above by spiritual influence ; in some things she leadeth and traineth them only by worldly experience and practice. We may not so in any one special kind admire her, that we disgrace her in any other ; but let all her ways be according unto their place and degree adored.

The second proof of Scripture. II. That "all things be done to the glory of God"² the blessed Apostle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellency of that virtue divine, which being made manifest, causeth men and Angels to extol his greatness,

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 16. "The whole Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be absolute, being made perfect unto all good works." He meaneth all and only those good works, which belong unto us as we are men of God, and which unto salvation are necessary. Or if we understand by men of God, God's ministers, there is not required in them an universal skill of every good work or way, but an ability to teach whatsoever men are bound to do that they may be saved. And with this kind of knowledge the Scripture sufficeth to furnish them as teaching matter.

² T. C. l. i. p. 26. [14.] "St. Paul saith, 'That whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we must do it to the glory of God.' But no man can glorify God in any thing but by obedience ; and there is no obedience but in respect of the commandment and word of God ; therefore it followeth that the word of God directeth a man in all his actions."



by the Command to glorify God in all things. 291

and in regard thereof to fear him. By "being glorified" it is not meant that he doth receive any augmentation of glory at our hands, but his name we glorify when we testify our acknowledgment of his glory. Which albeit we most effectually do by the virtue of obedience; nevertheless it may be perhaps a question, whether St. Paul did mean that we sin as oft as ever we go about any thing, without an express intent and purpose to obey God therein. He saith of himself, "I do in all things please all men, seeking not mine own commodity but" rather the good "of many, that they may be saved".¹ Shall it hereupon be thought that St. Paul did not move either hand or foot, but with express intent even thereby to further the common salvation of men? We move, we sleep, we take the cup at the hand of our friend, a number of things we oftentimes do, only to satisfy some natural desire, without present, express, and actual reference unto any commandment of God. Unto his glory even these things are done which we naturally perform, and not only that which morally and spiritually we do. For by every effect proceeding from the most concealed instincts of nature His power is made manifest. But it doth not therefore follow that of necessity we shall sin, unless we expressly intend this in every such particular.

[1.] But be it a thing which requireth no more than only our general presupposed willingness to please God in all things, or be it a matter wherein we cannot so glorify the name of God as we should without an actual intent to do him in that particular some special obedience; yet for any thing there is in this sentence alleged to the contrary, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will be performed with an actual intelligent desire to fulfil that law which maketh known what his will is, although no special clause or sentence of Scripture be in every such action set before men's eyes to warrant it. For Scripture is not the only law whereby God hath opened his will touching all things that may be done, but there are other kinds of laws which notify the will of God, as in the former book hath been proved at large: nor is there any law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glory. "Do therefore all

¹ 1 Cor. x. 33.

BOOK II. "things unto the glory of God (saith the Apostle), be inof-
 Ch. ii. p. 21. s. 1. fensive both to Jews and Grecians and the Church of God ;
 " even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own
 " commodity, but many's, that they may be saved." In the
 least thing done disobediently towards God, or offensively
 against the good of men, whose benefit we ought to seek for
 as for our own, we plainly shew that we do not acknowledge
 God to be such as indeed he is, and consequently that we
 glorify him not. This the blessed Apostle teacheth ; but
 doth any Apostle teach, that we cannot glorify God other-
 wise, than only in doing what we find that God in Scripture
 commandeth us to do ?

[3.] The churches dispersed amongst the heathen in the
 east part of the world are by the Apostle St. Peter exhorted
 to have their " conversation honest amongst the Gentiles, that
 " they which spake evil of them as of evil-doers might by the
 " good works which they should see glorify God in the day
 " of visitation ¹." As long as that which Christians did was
 good, and no way subject unto just reproof, their virtuous
 conversation was a mean to work the heathen's conversion
 unto Christ. Seeing therefore this had been a thing alto-
 gether impossible, but that infidels themselves did discern, in
 matters of life and conversation, when believers did well and
 when otherwise, when they glorified their heavenly Father
 and when not ; it followeth that some things wherein God is
 glorified may be some other way known than only by the
 sacred Scripture ; of which Scripture the Gentiles being
 utterly ignorant did notwithstanding judge rightly of the
 quality of Christian men's actions. Most certain it is that
 nothing but only sin doth dishonour God. So that to glorify
 him in all things is to do nothing whereby the name of God
 may be blasphemed ² ; nothing whereby the salvation of Jew
 or Grecian or any in the Church of Christ may be let or hin-
 dered ³ ; nothing whereby his law is transgressed ⁴. But
 the question is, whether only Scripture do shew whatsoever
 God is glorified in ?

The third
 Scripture
 proof.
 1 Tim. iv. 5. III. And though meats and drinks be said to be sanctified
 by the word of God and by prayer ⁵, yet neither is this a

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 12. ² Rom. ii. 24. ³ " And that which St. Paul said
⁴ 1 Cor. x. 31. ⁵ Rom. ii. 23. " of meats and drinks, that they are

reason sufficient to prove, that by Scripture we must of necessity be directed in every light and common thing which is incident into any part of man's life. Only it sheweth that unto us the word, that is to say the Gospel of Christ, having not delivered any such difference of things clean and unclean, as the Law of Moses did unto the Jews, there is no cause but that we may use indifferently all things, as long as we do not (like swine) take the benefit of them without a thankful acknowledgment of His liberality and goodness by whose providence they are enjoyed. And therefore the Apostle gave warning beforehand to take heed of such as should enjoin to "abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving, because it is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer¹." The Gospel, by not making many things unclean, as the Law did, hath sanctified those things generally to all, which particularly each man unto himself must sanctify by a reverend and holy use. Which will hardly be drawn so far as to serve their purpose, who have imagined the Word in such sort to sanctify all things, that neither food can be tasted, nor raiment put on, nor in the world any thing done, but this deed must needs be sin in them which do not first know it appointed unto them by Scripture before they do it.

IV. But to come unto that which of all other things in Scripture is most stood upon; that place of St. Paul they say is "of all other most clear, where speaking of those things which are called indifferent, in the end he concludeth, "That whatsoever is not of faith is sin." But faith is not "but in respect of the Word of God. Therefore whatsoever is not done by the Word of God is sin." Whereunto we answer, that albeit the name of Faith being properly and strictly taken, it must needs have reference unto some uttered word as the object of belief: nevertheless sith the ground of credit is the credibility of things credited; and things are made credible, either by the known condition and quality of

BOOK II.
Ch. IV. 1.

The fourth
Scripture
is most stood upon;
that place of St. Paul they say
is "of all other most clear, where speaking of those things
which are called indifferent, in the end he concludeth,
"That whatsoever is not of faith is sin." But faith is not

¹ sanctified unto us by the word of God, the same is to be understood of all things else whatsoever we have the use of." T. C. l. i. p. 26. [14] 1 Tim. iv. 3. 4.

BOOK II. the utterer¹, or by the manifest likelihood of truth which
 Ch. 16. x they have in themselves; hereupon it riseth that whatsoever
 we are persuaded of, the same we are generally said to believe.
 In which generality the object of faith may not so narrowly
 be restrained, as if the same did extend no further than to the
 only Scriptures of God. "Though," saith our Saviour, "ye
 believe not me, believe my works, that ye may know and
 believe that the Father is in me and I in him²." "The
 other disciples said unto Thomas, We have seen the Lord;"
 but his answer unto them was, "Except I see in his hands
 the print of the nails, and put my finger into them, I will not
 believe³." Can there be any thing more plain than that
 which by these two sentences appeareth, namely, that there
 may be a certain belief grounded upon other assurance than
 Scripture: any thing more clear, than that we are said not
 only to believe the things which we know by another's relation,
 but even whatsoever we are certainly persuaded of, whether it
 be by reason or by sense?

[2.] Forasmuch therefore as it is granted that St. Paul
 doth mean nothing else by Faith, but only "a full persuasion
 that that which we do is well done⁴;" against which
 kind of faith or persuasion as St. Paul doth count it sin to
 enterprise any thing, so likewise "some of the very heathen
 have taught⁵, as Tully, "That nothing ought to be done
 whereof thou doubtest whether it be right or wrong⁶;"
 whereby it appeareth that even those which had no know-

¹ Psalm xix. 8; Apoc. iii. 14; "appeareth that even those which
 2 Cor. i. 13. "had no knowledge of the word of
 3 John x. 38. "God did see much of the equity of
 4 John xx. 31. "this which the Apostle requireth
 5 And if any will say that St. "of a Christian man: and that the
 Paul meaneth there a full persua- "chiefest difference is, that where
 sion and persuasion that that which "they sent men for the difference of
 he doth is well done, I grant it. "good and evil to the light of rea-
 6 But from whence can that spring "son, in such things the Apostle
 but from faith? How can we per- "sendeth them to the school of
 suade and assure ourselves that "Christ in his word, which only is
 we do well, but whereas we have "able through faith to give them
 the word of God for our warrant? assurance and resolution in their
 T. C. l. i. p. 37. [14] "doings." T. C. l. ii. p. 60.
 7 "What also that some even of " [De Offic. l. 9: "Bene præci-
 those heathen men have taught, "pium, qui vetant quidquam agere,
 that nothing ought to be done "quod dubites sequam sit an-
 whereof thou doubtest whether it "quam."]
 be right or wrong. Whereby it

"ledge of the word of God did see much of the equity of this BOOK II.
 "which the Apostle requireth of a Christian man;" I hope Ch. IV. 3.
 we shall not seem altogether unnecessarily to doubt of the
 soundness of their opinion, who think simply that nothing but
 only the word of God can give us assurance in any thing we
 are to do, and resolve us that we do well. For might not
 the Jews have been fully persuaded that they did well to
 think (if they had so thought) that in Christ God the Father
 was, although the only ground of this their faith had been
 the wonderful works they saw him do? Might not, yea,
 did not Thomas fully in the end persuade himself, that
 he did well to think that body which now was raised to
 be the same which had been crucified? That which gave
 Thomas this assurance was his sense; "Thomas, because
 "thou hast seen, thou believest," saith our Saviour¹. What
 Scripture had Tully for this assurance? Yet I nothing
 doubt but that they who allege him think he did well to set
 down in writing a thing so consonant unto truth. Finally, we
 all believe that the Scriptures of God are sacred, and that
 they have proceeded from God; ourselves we assure that
 we do right well in so believing. We have for this point
 a demonstration sound and infallible. But it is not the
 word of God which doth or possibly can assure us, that we do
 well to think it his word. For if any one book of Scripture
 did give testimony to all, yet still that Scripture which giveth
 credit to the rest would require another Scripture to give
 credit unto it, neither could we ever come unto any pause
 whereon to rest our assurance this way; so that unless beside
 Scripture there were something which might assure us that
 we do well, we could not think we do well, no not in
 being assured that Scripture is a sacred and holy rule of
 well-doing.

[3.] On which determination we might be contented to stay
 ourselves without further proceeding herein, but that we are
 drawn on into larger speech by reason of their so great
 earnestness, who beat more and more upon these last alleged
 words, as being of all other most pregnant.

Whereas therefore they still argue, "That wheresoever
 "faith is wanting, there is sin;" and, "in every action not

¹ John xx. 29.

BOOK II. "commanded faith is wanting;" *ergo*, "in every action not
 Ch. IV. 4. "commanded, there is sin¹;" I would demand of them first,
 forasmuch as the nature of things indifferent is neither to
 be commanded nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrary; how
 there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of faith sin be
 committed when any thing not commanded is done. So that
 of necessity they must add somewhat, and at leastwise thus
 set it down: in every action not commanded of God or per-
 mitted with approbation, faith is wanting, and for want of faith
 there is sin.

[4.] The next thing we are to inquire is, What those things be which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may know them to be so permitted. When there are unto one end sundry means; as for example, for the sustentance of our bodies many kinds of food, many sorts of raiment to clothe our nakedness, and so in other things of like condition: here the end itself being necessary, but not so any one mean thereunto; necessary that our bodies should be both fed and clothed, howbeit no one kind of food or raiment necessary; therefore we hold these things free in their own nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our own discretion, except a principal bond of some higher duty remove the indifferency that such things have in themselves. Their indifferency is removed, if either we take away our own liberty, as Ananias did², for whom to have sold or held his possessions it was indifferent, till his solemn vow and promise unto God had strictly bound him one only way; or if God himself have precisely abridged the same, by restraining us unto or by barring us from some one or moe things of many, which otherwise were in themselves altogether indifferent. Many fashions of priestly attire there were, whereof Aaron and his sons might have had their free choice without sin, but that God expressly tied them unto one³. All meats indifferent unto the Jew, were it not that God by name excepted some, as swine's flesh⁴. Impossible therefore it is we should otherwise think, than that what things God doth neither command nor forbid, the same he permitteth with approbation either to be done or left undone.

¹ T. C. l. ii. p. 58.
² Acts v. 4.

³ Exod. xxxviii. 4. 43; xxxix.
⁴ Lev. xi.

"All things are lawful unto me," saith the Apostle¹, speaking as it seemeth in the person of the Christian Gentile for maintenance of liberty in things indifferent; whereunto his answer is, that nevertheless "all things are not expedient;" in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not always equally expedient.

[5.] Now in things although not commanded of God yet lawful because they are permitted, the question is, what light shall shew us the conveniency which one hath above another. For answer, their final determination is, that² "Whereas the Heathen did send men for the difference of good and evil to the light of Reason, in such things the Apostle sendeth us to the school of Christ in his word, which only is able through faith to give us assurance and resolution in our doings." Which word *enjoyns*, is utterly without possibility of ever being proved. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that unless the word of the Lord had determined of the free use of them, there could have been no lawful use of them at all: which notwithstanding is untrue; because it is not the Scripture's setting down such things as indifferent, but their not setting down as necessary, that doth make them to be indifferent: yet this to our present purpose serveth nothing at all. We inquire not now, whether any thing be free to be used which Scripture hath not set down as free: but concerning things known and acknowledged to be indifferent, whether particularly in choosing any one of them before another we sin, if any thing but Scripture direct us in this our choice. When many meats are set before me, all are indifferent, none unlawful, I take one as most convenient. If Scripture require me so to do, then is not the thing indifferent, because I must do what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent, I might take any, Scripture doth not require of me to make any special choice of one: I do notwithstanding make choice of one, my discretion teaching me so to do. A hard case, that hereupon I should be justly condemned of sin. Nor let any man think that following the judgment of natural discretion in such cases we can have no assurance that we please God. For to the Author and God of our nature, how shall any

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 12.

² [T. C. ii. 66.]

BOOK II.
Ch. ix. 5.

298 *Consequence of their Tenet as applied to the Patriarchs.*

BOOK II.
Ch. IV. 6, 7.

operation proceeding in natural sort be in that respect unacceptable? The nature which himself hath given to work by he cannot but be delighted with, when we exercise the same any way without commandment of his to the contrary.

[6.] My desire is to make this cause so manifest, that if it were possible, no doubt or scruple concerning the same might remain in any man's cogitation. Some truths there are, the verity whereof time doth alter: as it is now true that Christ is risen from the dead; which thing was not true at such time as Christ was living on earth, and had not suffered. It would be known therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the sinful stain of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertain unto us only, or a perpetual truth, in such sort that from the first beginning of the world unto the last consummation thereof, it neither hath been nor can be otherwise. I see not how they can restrain this unto any particular time, how they can think it true now and not always true, that in every action not commanded there is for want of faith sin. Then let them cast back their eyes unto former generations of men, and mark what was done in the prime of the world. Seth, Enoch, Noah, Sem, Abraham, Job, and the rest that lived before any syllable of the law of God was written, did they not sin as much as we do in every action not commanded? That which God is unto us by his sacred word, the same he was unto them by such like means as Eliphaz in Job describeth¹. If therefore we sin in every action which the Scripture commandeth us not, it followeth that they did the like in all such actions as were not by revelation from Heaven exacted at their hands. Unless God from heaven did by vision still shew them what to do, they might do nothing, not eat, not drink, not sleep, not move.

[7.] Yea, but even as in darkness candlelight may serve to guide men's steps, which to use in the day were madness; so when God had once delivered his law in writing, it may be they are of opinion that then it must needs be sin for men to do any thing which was not there commanded them to do,

¹ Job iv. 13. [“A thing was “thoughts from the visions of the
“secretly brought to me, and mine “night, when deep sleep falleth on
“ear received a little thereof; in “men,” &c.]

whatsoever they might do before. Let this be granted, and it shall hereupon plainly ensue, either that the light of Scripture once shining in the world, all other light of Nature is therewith in such sort drowned, that now we need it not, neither may we longer use it; or if it stand us in any stead, yet as Aristotle speaketh of men whom Nature hath framed for the state of servitude, saying, "They have reason so far forth as to conceive when others direct them¹, but little or "none in directing themselves by themselves;" so likewise our natural capacity and judgment must serve us only for the right understanding of that which the sacred Scripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who succeeded Moses, or the blessed Apostles which followed them, been settled in this persuasion, never would they have taken so great pains in gathering together natural arguments, thereby to teach the faithful their duties. To use unto them any other motive than *Scriptum est*, "Thus it is written," had been to teach them other grounds of their actions than Scripture; which I grant they allege commonly, but not only. Only Scripture they should have alleged, had they been thus persuaded, that so far forth we do sin as we do any thing otherwise directed than by Scripture. St. Augustine was resolute in points of Christianity to credit none, how godly and learned soever he were, unless he confirmed his sentence by the Scriptures, or by some reason not contrary to them². Let them therefore with St. Augustine reject and condemn that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on some reason not contrary to Scripture, and we are ready to give them our hands in token of friendly consent with them.

V. But against this it may be objected, and is, That the Fathers do nothing more usually in their books, than draw

¹ Arist. Pol. l. c. 5. [Ὁ νόμος ὁ μὲν ἄλλοις ἐπιτίθειται ὡς ἀρχὴν ἔχει, ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν ἔχει, ὡς ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ σώματος ἔχει τὸ σῶμα.]
² August. Ep. 19. [al. Ep. t. ii. 190. "Ego enim faveo caritati tuae" (he is writing to St. Jerome.)
 "solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui iam canonici appellantur, disci hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero literis quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud, quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse, non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque pre-pollent, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt, sed quia mihi vel per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat persuadere poterunt.]

300 *The Father's use of negative Arguments from Scripture.*

BOOK II. arguments from the Scripture negatively in reproof of that
 Ch. v. s. which is evil; "Scriptures teach it not, avoid it therefore:"
 ----- these disputes with the Fathers are ordinary, neither is it
 ed to be proved by hard to shew that the Prophets themselves have so reasoned.
 the use of Which arguments being sound and good, it should seem that
 taking an- it cannot be unsound or evil to hold still the same assertion
 guements negatively against which hitherto we have disputed. For if it stand
 from the with reason thus to argue, "such a thing is not taught us
 authority of Scrip- "in Scripture, therefore we may not receive or allow it;"
 tures- how should it seem unreasonable to think, that whatsoever
 which we may lawfully do, the Scripture by commanding it must
 kind of dis- make it lawful? But how far such arguments do reach, it
 puting is shall the better appear by considering the matter wherein
 usual to the they have been urged.
 Fathers.

[2.] First therefore this we constantly deny, that of so many testimonies as they are able to produce for the strength of negative arguments, any one doth generally (which is the point in question) condemn either all opinions as false, or all actions as unlawful, which the Scripture teacheth us not. The most that can be collected out of them is only that in some cases a negative argument taken from Scripture is strong, whereof no man endued with judgment can doubt. But doth the strength of some negative argument prove this kind of negative argument strong, by force whereof all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not, or all things which Scripture prescribeth not condemned? The question between us is concerning matter of action, what things are lawful or unlawful for men to do. The sentences alleged out of the Fathers are as peremptory and as large in every respect for matter of opinion as of action: which argueth that in truth they never meant any otherwise to tie the one than the other unto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tied, as far as each is required in the same kind of necessity unto salvation. If therefore it be not unlawful to know and with full persuasion to believe much more than Scripture alone doth teach; if it be against all sense and reason to condemn the knowledge of so many arts and sciences as are otherwise learned than in Holy Scripture, notwithstanding the manifest speeches of ancient Catholic Fathers, which seem to close up within the bosom thereof all manner good and lawful knowledge; where-

as urged by the Puritani, would prove too much. 301

fore should their words be thought more effectual to shew that we may not in deeds and practice, than they are to prove that in speculation and knowledge we ought not to go any farther than the Scripture? Which Scripture being given to teach matters of belief no less than of action, the Fathers must needs be and are even as plain against credit besides the relation, as against practice without the injunction of the Scripture.

[3.] St. Augustine hath said¹, "Whether it be question of Christ, or whether it be question of his Church, or of what thing soever the question be; I say not, if we, but if an angel from heaven shall tell us any thing beside that you have received in the Scripture under the Law and the Gospel, let him be accursed²." In like sort Tertullian³, "We may not give ourselves this liberty to bring in any thing of our will, nor choose any thing that other men bring in of their will; we have the Apostles themselves for authors, which themselves brought nothing of their own will, but the discipline which they received of Christ they delivered faithfully unto the people." In which place the name of Discipline importeth not as they who allege it would fain have it construed, but as any man who noteth the circumstance of the place and the occasion of uttering the words will easily acknowledge, even the selfsame thing it signifieth which the name of Doctrine doth, and as well might the one as the other there have been used. To help them farther, doth not St. Jerome⁴ after the selfsame manner dispute, "We believe it

¹ Aug. cont. Liter. Peil. lib. iii. c. 6. [l. ix. 301: "Sive de Christo, sive de ejus Ecclesia, sive de quacunque alia re que pertinet ad fidem vitamque vestram, non dicam nos, nequaquam comparandi ei qui dixit, *Ecce si nos, sed omnino quod secutus adjecit, Si angelus de celo vobis annuntiaverit preterquam quod in Scripturis legalibus et evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit.*"]
² T. C. l. ii. p. 80: "Augustine saith, Whether it be question of Christ, or whether it be question of his Church, &c. And lest the answerer should restrain the general saying of Augustine unto the Doctrine of the Gospel, so that he would thereby shut out the Disci-

pline." [Here T. C. alleges the passage ascribed to St. Cyprian, quoted by Hooker in the next note.]
³ even Tertullian himself, before he was imbrued with the heresy of Montanus, giveth testimony unto the discipline in these words, "We may not give ourselves, &c."
⁴ Tertull. de Prescript. [c. 6: "Nobis vero nihil ex nostro arbitrio inducere licet, sed nec eligere quod aliquis de arbitrio suo induxerit. Apostolos Domini habemus auctores, qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio, quod indoluerent, elegerunt: sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus adsignaverunt."] ⁵ Hieron. contra Helvid. [l. vi: "hac quae scripta sunt non nega-

302 *Negative Arguments from Scripture in the Fathers:*

BOOK II.
Ch. v. 4.

"not, because we read it not?" Yes, "We ought not so much as to know the things which the Book of the Law containeth not," saith St. Hilary. Shall we hereupon then conclude, that we may not take knowledge of or give credit unto any thing, which sense or experience or report or art doth propose, unless we find the same in Scripture? No; it is too plain that so far to extend their speeches is to wrest them against their true intent and meaning. To urge any thing upon the Church, requiring thereunto that religious assent of Christian belief, wherewith the words of the holy prophets are received; to urge any thing as part of that supernatural and celestially revealed truth which God hath taught, and not to shew it in Scripture; this did the ancient Fathers evermore think unlawful, impious, execrable. And thus, as their speeches were meant, so by us they must be restrained.

[4.] As for those alleged words of Cyprian¹, "The Christian Religion shall find, that out of this Scripture rules of all doctrines have sprung, and that from hence doth spring and hither doth return whatsoever the ecclesiastical discipline doth contain;" surely this place would never have been brought forth in this cause, if it had been but once read over in the author himself out of whom it is cited. For the words are uttered concerning that one principal commandment of love; in the honour whereof he speaketh after this sort¹: "Surely this commandment containeth the law and

¹ "mas, ita ea que non sunt scripta
"remimus. Natum Deum esse de
"virgine credimus, quia legimus:
"Mariam nupsisse post partum non
"credimus, quia non legimus." t. ii. p. 13.] Hilary, in Ps. cxxvii. [§ 6. pag. 463]: "Que Ehev legit non continetur, ea nec nosse debemus." He is speaking of an apocryphal tradition, that the angels supposed by some to be mentioned in Genesis vi. 1, 4. used to haunt Mount Hermon especially.

² "Let him lear what Cyprian saith, The Christian Religion (saith he) shall find, that," &c. T. C. l. ii. p. 80.

³ "Vere hoc mandatum legem complectitur et prophetas, et in hoc verbo omnium Scripturarum volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc, Domine,

⁴ "verbi tui clamat auctoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audivimus, hic invenit consummationem omnis religionis. Primum est hoc mandatum et ultimum; hoc in libro vite conscriptum indeficientem et hominibus et angelis exhibet lectorem. Legat dato meditetur Christiana religio, et inveniet ex hac Scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanasse, et hinc nasci et hac reverti quicquid ecclesiastica continet disciplina, et in omnibus irritum esse et frivolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat." [Arnold, Carnotens. de Baptismo Christi, ad calc. S. Cyprian. ed. Fell. pag. 33. Udall in his Demonstration of Discipline having quoted the same passage, butcliffe, Remonstrance to the Demonstration, page 17, meets it with

"the Prophets, and in this one word is the abridgment of all
 "the volumes of Scripture. This nature and reason and the
 "authority of thy word, O Lord, doth proclaim; this we have
 "heard out of thy mouth; herein the perfection of all religion
 "doth consist. This is the first commandment and the last;
 "this being written in the Book of Life is (as it were) an
 "everlasting lesson both to Men and Angels. Let Christian
 "religion read this one word, and meditate upon this com-
 "mandment, and out of this Scripture it shall find the rules
 "of all learning to have sprung, and from hence to have risen
 "and hither to return whatsoever the ecclesiastical discipline
 "containeth, and that in all things it is vain and bootless
 "which charity confirmeth not." Was this a sentence (trow
 you) of so great force to prove that Scripture is the only rule
 of all the actions of men? Might they not hereby even as
 well prove, that one commandment of Scripture is the only
 rule of all things, and so exclude the rest of the Scripture, as
 now they do all means beside Scripture? But thus it fareth,
 when too much desire of contradiction causeth our speech
 rather to pass by number than to stay for weight.

[5.] Well, but Tertullian doth in this case speak yet more
 plainly¹: "The Scripture," saith he, "denieth what it
 "noteth not," which are indeed the words of Tertullian².
 But what? the Scripture reckoneth up the kings of Israel,
 and amongst those kings David; the Scripture reckoneth up
 the sons of David, and amongst those sons Salomon. To
 prove that amongst the kings of Israel there was no David
 but only one, no Salomon but one in the sons of David;
 Tertullian's argument will fitly prove. For inasmuch as the
 Scripture did propose to reckon up all, if there were more it
 would have named them. In this case "the Scripture doth

the following, which occurs just be-
 fore in the same tract: "Magister
 "bone, libenter te audis, et cum ad-
 "versariis mihi, etiam in plagis et
 "doloribus intelligo disciplinam, nec
 "lacet me, te dicente, ad succedendas
 "corruptionum mearum patredines
 "prodere cauterium, et mundare
 "cicatrices veteres saltem disciplina
 "tuae, Evangelio tuo medente infu-
 "sum.... You see, that which he
 "first called Doctrine, he after,
 "dixerunt, calleth Discipline."
¹ Tertull. lib. de Monog. [c. 4;
 "Semel vim passa institutio Dei
 "per Lamechum, constanti postea in
 "finem usque gentis illius. Secun-
 "do Lamech nullus exiit, quomo-
 "do diabus maritatus. Negat Scrip-
 "tura quod non notat." p. 671.]
² And in another place Tertul-
 lian saith, That the Scripture de-
 "noteth that which it noteth not."
 T. C. l. ii. p. 81.

BOOK II.
Ch. v. 6.

"deny the thing it noteth not." Howbeit I could not but think that man to do me some piece of manifest injury, which would hereby fasten upon me a general opinion, as if I did think the Scripture to deny the very reign of King Henry the Eighth, because it nowhere noteth that any such King did reign. Tertullian's speech is probable concerning such matter as he there speaketh of. "There was," saith Tertullian, "no second Lamech like to him that had two wives; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not." As therefore it noteth one such to have been in that age of the world; so had there been moe, it would by likelihood as well have noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? "There was no second Lamech; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not." Were it consonant unto reason to divorce these two sentences, the former of which doth shew how the later is restrained, and not marking the former to conclude by the later of them, that simply whatsoever any man at this day doth think true is by the Scripture denied, unless it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a cause so weak and feeble hath been so much persisted in.

[6.] But to come unto those their sentences wherein matters of action are more apparently touched: the name of Tertullian is as before so here again pretended¹; who writing unto his wife two books, and exhorting her in the one to live a widow, in case God before her should take him unto his mercy; and in the other, if she did marry, yet not to join herself to an infidel, as in those times some widows Christian had done for the advancement of their estate in this present world, he urged very earnestly St. Paul's words, "only in the Lord²."

¹ T. C. l. ii. p. 80. "Assè that
"in indifferent things it is not
"enough that they be not against
"the word, but that they be accord-
"ing to the word, it may appear by
"other places, where he saith, 'That
"whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord,
"displeaseth him, and with hurt is
"received.'" lib. ii. ad Uxorem.
² I Cor. vii. 39. Ad Uxor. l. ii.
c. 2. "Cum dicit, Tantum in Do-
"mino, jam non sœdet, sed exerte
"jubet... Igitur cum quædam isis
"diebus nuptias suas de Ecclesia
"tollesse, id est, Gentili conjunge-

"retur; idque ab aliis retro factum
"recondere; mirata aut ipsa-
"rum pervariationem, quod real-
"is Scriptura ejus facti licentiam
"proferret, 'Numquid' inquam,
"de illo capitulo sibi blandiuntur
"prime ad Corinthios, ubi scriptum
"est, Siquis frater infidelem habet
"uxorem, et illa matrimonio con-
"sensit, ne dimittat eam; &c. Hanc
"monitionem forsam fidelibus injun-
"ctam, etiam infidelibus subire lice-
"re, qui ita interpretantur." p. 198.]

whereupon he demandeth of them that think they may do the contrary, what Scripture they can shew where God hath dispensed and granted license to do against that which the blessed Apostle so strictly doth enjoin¹. And because in defence it might perhaps be replied, "Seeing God doth will "that couples which are married when both are infidels, if "either party chance to be after converted unto Christianity, "this should not make separation between them, as long as "the unconverted was willing to retain the other on whom "the grace of Christ had shined; wherefore then should "that let the making of marriage, which doth not dissolve "marriage being made?" after great reasons shewed why God doth in converts being married allow continuance with infidels, and yet disallow that the faithful when they are free should enter into bonds of wedlock with such, [he] concludeth in the end concerning those women that so marry, "They "that please not the Lord do even thereby offend the Lord; "they do even thereby throw themselves into evil²;" that is to say, while they please him not by marrying in him, they do that whereby they incur his displeasure; they make an offer of themselves into the service of that enemy with whose servants they link themselves in so near a bond. What one syllable is there in all this prejudicial any way to that which we hold? For the words of Tertullian as they are by them alleged are two ways misunderstood; both in the former part, where that is extended generally to "all things" in the neuter gender, which he speaketh in the feminine gender of women's persons; and in the latter, where "received with hurt" is put instead of "wilful incurring that which is evil." And so in sum Tertullian doth neither mean nor say as is pretended, "Whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord displeaseth him, and with hurt "is received;" but, "Those women that please not the Lord" by their kind of marrying "do even thereby offend the Lord, "they do even thereby throw themselves into evil."

[7.] Somewhat more show there is in a second place of Tertullian, which notwithstanding when we have examined it

¹ [This is Hooker's division (A, line 1.) 1886. and B.). It implies the insertion of the pronoun before "concludeth." Mr. Keble's punctuation carries on the pronoun from "he demandeth,"

² "Quæ Domino non placeant, "utique Dominum offendunt, utique Male se inferunt." [Tertull. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. 7.]

BOOK II. will be found as the rest are¹. The Roman emperor's
 Ch. 1. p. custom was at certain solemn times to bestow on his soldiers
 a donative; which donative they received wearing garlands
 upon their heads. There were in the time of the emperors
 Severus and Antoninus² many, who being soldiers had been
 converted unto Christ, and notwithstanding continued still
 in that military course of life. In which number, one man
 there was amongst all the rest, who at such a time coming to
 the tribune of the army to receive his donative, came but with
 a garland in his hand, and not in such sort as others did.
 The tribune offended heret demandeth what this great
 singularity should mean. To whom the soldier, *Christianus*
sus, "I am a Christian." Many there were so besides him
 which yet did otherwise at that time; whereupon grew a
 question, whether a Christian soldier might herein do as the
 unchristian did, and wear as they wore. Many of them
 which were very sound in Christian belief did rather commend
 the zeal of this man than approve his action.

Tertullian was at the same time a Montanist, and an enemy
 unto the church for condemning that prophetic spirit which
 Montanus and his followers did boast they had received, as if
 in them Christ had performed his last promise; as if to them
 he had sent the Spirit that should be their perfecter and final
 instructor in the mysteries of Christian truth. Which exul-
 ceration of mind made him apt to take all occasions of con-
 tradiction. Wherefore in honour of that action, and to gall
 their minds who did not so much commend it, he wrote his
 book *De Corona Militis*, not dissembling the stomach where-

¹ T. C. lib. ii. p. 81. "And to come
 "yet meanly, where he disputeth
 "against the wearing of crown or
 "garland, (which is indifferent of
 "itself) to those which objecting
 "asked, where the Scripture saith
 "that a man might not wear a
 "crown, he answereth by asking,
 "where the Scripture saith that they
 "may wear. And unto them re-
 "plying that 'it is permitted which
 "is not forbidden,' he answereth,
 "that 'it is forbidden which is not
 "permitted.' Whereby appeareth
 "that the argument of the Scrip-
 "tures negatively holdeth not only
 "in the doctrine and ecclesiastical
 "discipline, but even in matters ar-
 "bitrary, and variable by the advice
 "of the Church. Where it is not
 "enough that they be not forbidden,
 "unless there be some word which
 "doth permit the use of them; it
 "is not enough that the Scripture
 "speaketh not against them, un-
 "less it speak for them; and finally,
 "where it displeaseth the Lord
 "which pleaseth him not: we [one]
 "must of necessity have the word
 "of his mouth to declare his plea-
 "sure."
² [Caracalla.]

with he wrote it. For first, the man he commendeth as "one more constant than the rest of his brethren, who presumed," saith he, "that they might well enough serve two Lords!"¹ Afterwards choler somewhat more rising with him, he addeth, "It doth even remain that they should also devise how to rid themselves of his martyrdoms, towards the prophecies of whose Holy Spirit they have already shewed their disdain. They mutter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but some of them send the Scriptures before, truss up bag and baggage, make themselves in a readiness that they may fly from city to city. For that is the only point of the Gospel which they are careful not to forget. I know even their pastors very well what men they are; in peace lions, harts in time of trouble and fear!"² Now these men, saith Tertullian, "they must be answered, where we do find it written in Scripture that a Christian man may not wear a garland!"³

And as men's speeches uttered in heat of distempered affection have oftentimes much more eagerness than weight, so he that shall mark the proofs alleged and the answers to things objected in that book will now and then perhaps espy the like imbecility. Such is that argument whereby they that wore on their heads garlands are charged as transgressors of nature's law⁴, and guilty of sacrilege against God the Lord of nature, inasmuch as flowers in such sort worn can neither be smelt nor seen well by those that wear them; and God made flowers sweet and beautiful, that being seen and smelt

¹ Tert. de Coen. Milit. c. 1. "et pastores eorum in pace leones,
² Dei miles ceteris constantior in proelio crevis." p. 205.]
³ fratibus, qui se duobus dominis "Quatenus illud opponunt,
 "servire non posse presumpserat, "Ubi autem prohibemur coronari?
 "solum libero capite, circumambrato "hanc magis localem subnotantiam
 "in manu otiosam." The reading "causa presentis aggrediar." ibid.]
 before Pamelius was "servire pos- " [Ibid. c. 5. "In capite quia
 "se presumpserat." (So Oehler. "sapor flos? quis coronae serius,
 1853.) "nisi vinculi tantum? quia neque
⁴ "Plane superest ut etiam mar- "color cernitur, neque odor ducitur,
 "tyria recuare mediteretur, qui "sac tenentia commendatur. Tam
 "prophetas ejusdem Sp. Sancti re- "contra naturam est flos in capite
 "spuerunt. Mousant denique tam "sectari, quam cibum aure, quam
 "bonam et longam sibi pacem peri- "suntum mare. Omnes autem quod
 "ciliari. Nec dubito quendam "contra naturam est monstrum me-
 "Scripturas emigrare, sarcinas ex- "retur notam penes omnes, penes
 "pedire, fugae accingi de civitate in "nos vero etiam eligium sacrilegi,
 "civitates. Nullam enim aliam "in Deum saltare Dominum et
 "Evangelii memoriam curant. Novi "auctorem."]

unto they might so delight. Neither doth Tertullian bewray this weakness in striking only, but also in repelling their strokes with whom he contendeth. They ask, saith he, "What Scripture is there which doth teach that we should not be crowned? And what Scripture is there which doth teach that we should? For in requiring on the contrary part the aid of Scripture, they do give sentence beforehand that their part ought also by Scripture to be aided!" Which answer is of no great force. There is no necessity, that if I confess I ought not to do that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I should thereby acknowledge myself bound to do nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements besides Scripture may lead me to that, which if Scripture be against, they all give place and are of no value, yet otherwise are strong and effectual to persuade.

Which thing himself well enough understanding, and being not ignorant that Scripture in many things doth neither command nor forbid, but use silence; his resolution in fine is, that in the church a number of things are strictly observed, whereof no law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other³; that of things once received and confirmed by use, long usage is a law sufficient; that in civil affairs, when there is no other law, custom itself doth stand for law⁴; that inasmuch as law doth stand upon reason, to allege reason serveth as well as to cite Scripture⁵; that whatsoever is reasonable, the same is lawful whosoever is author of it; that the authority

³ [Ibid. c. 2. "Facile est statim exigere, ubi scriptum sit, ne coronemur? At enim ubi scriptum est, 'ut coronemur?' Expositulantes enim Scripturæ patrociniū in parte diuina, præiudicant suæ quæque parti Scripturæ patrociniū adesse debere. Nam si illo dicitur coronari licere, quia non prohibetur Scripturæ, æque retroquæbitur idem coronari non licere, quia Scripturæ non iubetur."] ⁴ [Ibid. c. 3. "Etiam in traditionis obertu exigenda est, inquit, auctoritas scripta. Ergo quaeramus an et traditio non scripta non debeat recipi? Plase negabimus recipiendam, si nulla exempla præiudicent aliarum obseruationum, quas sine ullius Scrip-

ture instrumento, solius traditionis titulo, exinde consuetudinis patrociniū vindicamus." He then instances in the customs of interrogatories in baptism, of trine immersion, and several other Church usages.]

⁵ [Ibid. c. 4. "His igitur extempus renunciatum erit, posse etiam seruatione defendi, confirmatam consuetudine . . . Consuetudo autem etiam in civilibus rebus pro lege suscipitur, cum deficit lex."] ⁶ [Ibid. "Nec differi, Scripturæ an ratione consistat, quando et legem ratio commendat. Porro si lex ratione constat, lex erit sensæ jam quod ratione constitit a

proceptis productum."]

of custom is great¹; finally, that the custom of Christians was then and had been a long time not to wear garlands, and therefore that undoubtedly they did offend who presumed to violate such a custom by not observing that thing, the very inveterate observation whereof was a law sufficient to bind all men to observe it, unless they could shew some higher law, some law of Scripture, to the contrary². This presupposed, it may stand then very well with strength and soundness of reason, even thus to answer, "Whereas they ask what Scripture forbiddeth them to wear a garland; we are in this case rather to demand what Scripture commandeth them. They cannot here allege that it is permitted which is not forbidden them: no, that is forbidden them which is not permitted." For long-received custom forbidding them to do as they did, (if so be it did forbid them,) there was no excuse in the world to justify their act, unless in the Scripture they could shew some law, that did license them thus to break a received custom.

Now whereas in all the books of Tertullian besides there is not so much found as in that one, to prove not only that we may do, but that we ought to do, sundry things which the Scripture commandeth not; out of that very book these sentences are brought to make us believe that Tertullian was of a clean contrary mind. We cannot therefore hereupon yield; we cannot grant, that hereby is made manifest the argument of Scripture negatively to be of force, not only in doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, but even in matters arbitrary. For Tertullian doth plainly hold even in that book, that neither the matter which he intreateth of was arbitrary but necessary, inasmuch as the received custom of the Church

¹ [Ibid. "Hanc (rationem di- "a catechumenis usque ad confes-
"vitiis) nunc exponenda, salvo tra- "siones et martyres, vel negatores.
"ditinis respectu, *quocumque tradi-* "Viderint, unde auctoritas moris, de
"fore censetur: nec auctoritatem re- "qua cum maxime queritur. Porro
"spicias, sed auctoritatem: et in- "cum quaeritur [cur] quid observetur,
"primis consuetudinibus ipsius, que "observari interim constat. Ergo
"propterea colenda est, se non sit "nec nullum nec incertum videri
"rationis interpres, ut si hanc Deus "potest delictum, quod committitur
"dederit, tunc discas, cur nam obser- "in observationem suo jam nomine
"vanda sit tibi consuetudo." "vindictandam, et satis auctoritatem
"² [Ibid. c. 2. "Neminem dico "consensus patrociniis." And c. 3.
"aliam, extra tempus tentationis "Habentes observationem inveite-
"ejusmodi. Omnes ita observant "fecit."]

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BOOK II. did tie and bind them not to wear garlands as the heathens
 Ch. vi. 4. did; yea, and further also he reckoneth up particularly a
 number of things, whereof he expressly concludeth, "Harum
 "et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules Scrip-
 "turarum, nullam invenies¹;" which is as much as if he had
 said in express words, "Many things there are which con-
 "cern the discipline of the Church and the duties of men,
 "which to abrogate and take away the Scripture negatively
 "urged may not in any case persuade us, but they must be
 "observed, yea, although no Scripture be found which
 "requireth any such thing." Tertullian therefore undoubtedly
 doth not in this book shew himself to be of the same mind
 with them by whom his name is pretended.

The first VI.² But sith the sacred Scriptures themselves afford
 assertion endeavour- oftentimes such arguments as are taken from divine authority
 ed to be confirmed by the Scripture's custom of disputing from divine authority negatively. both one way and other; "The Lord hath commanded,
 "therefore it must be;" and again in like sort, "He hath
 "not, therefore it must not be;" some certainty concerning
 this point seemeth requisite to be set down.

God himself can neither possibly err, nor lead into error.

¹ Ibid. c. 4.
² T. C. i. li. p. 48. "It is not
 "hard to shew that the Prophets
 "have reasoned negatively. As
 "when in the person of the Lord
 "the Prophet saith, *Whereof I
 "have not spoken, Jer. xix. 5. And
 "which never entered into my heart,*
 "Jer. vii. 31. And where he
 "condemneth them because they
 "have not asked counsel at the
 "mouth of the Lord, Isai. xxx. 2.
 "And it may be shewed that the
 "same kind of argument hath been
 "used in things which are not of
 "the substance of salvation or dam-
 "nation, and whereof there was no
 "commandment to the contrary,
 "(as in the former there was. Levit.
 "xviii. 21; and xx. 3; Deut. xvii.
 "15.) In Joshua the children of
 "Israel are charged by the Prophet
 "that they asked not counsel at the
 "mouth of the Lord, when they
 "entered into covenant with the
 "Gibeonites, Josh. ix. 14. And yet
 "that covenant was not made con-
 "trary unto any commandment of
 "God. Moreover, we read that when
 "David had taken this counsel, to
 "build a temple unto the Lord,
 "albeit the Lord had revealed
 "before in his word that there
 "should be such a standing-place,
 "where the ark of the covenant and
 "the service should have a certain
 "abiding; and albeit there was no
 "word of God which forbade David
 "to build the temple; yet the Lord
 "(with commendation of his good
 "affection and zeal he had to the
 "advancement of his glory) con-
 "cludeth against David's resolution
 "to build the temple with this rea-
 "son, namely, that he had given
 "no commandment of this who
 "should build it. 1 Chron. xvii. 6."
 "[The first part of this extracts from
 "It is not hard" to "Isai. xxx. 2"
 "is from T. C. i. 13, 14. The paren-
 "thesis ("As in the former... Deut.
 "xvii. 16.") seems to be a note of
 "Hooker's. The latter part from
 "Moreover" is from T. C. ii. 49.]

must be limited by the known Scope of the Place. 311

For this cause his testimonies, whatsoever he affirmeth, are always truth and most infallible certainty¹.

BOOK II.
Ch. vi. 4.
—

Yea further, because the things that proceed from him are perfect without any manner of defect or maim; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are absolute, and lack nothing which they should have for performance of that thing whereunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being known whereunto he directeth his speech, the argument even negatively is evermore² strong and forcible concerning those things that are apparently requisite unto the same end. As for example: God intending to set down sundry times that which in Angels is most excellent, hath not any where spoken so highly of them as he hath of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; therefore they are not in dignity equal unto him. It is the Apostle St. Paul's argument³.

[4.] The purpose of God was to teach his people, both unto whom they should offer sacrifice, and what sacrifice was to be offered. To burn their sons in fire unto Baal he did not command them, he spake no such thing, neither came it into his mind; therefore this they ought not to have done. Which argument the Prophet Jeremy useth more than once, as being so effectual and strong, that although the thing he reproveth were not only not commanded but forbidden them⁴, and that expressly; yet the Prophet chooseth rather to charge them with the fault of making a law unto themselves, than with the crime of transgressing a law which God had made⁵. For when the Lord hath once himself precisely set down a form of executing that wherein we are to serve him; the fault appeareth greater to do that which we are not, than not to do that which we are commanded. In this we seem to charge the law of God with hardness only, in that with foolishness; in this we shew ourselves weak and unapt to be doers of his will, in that we take upon us to be controllers of his wisdom; in this we fail to perform the thing which God seeth meet,

¹ 1 John i. 5. "God is light, 1st ed. "Ever-more," Spencer. "and there is in him no darkness 1664.] 1886.
"at all." Heb. vi. 18. "It is impossible that God should lie." [Heb. i. 5-13; ii. 5-8]
Numb. xxiii. 19. "God is not as man that he should lie." [Levit. xviii. 21; xx. 3; Deut. xxvii. 10. [See Whigg's, Defence, &c. p. 78.]
² ["Ever more" (in two words) 78.]

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BOOK II. convenient, and good, in that we presume to see what is meet
 CH. VI. > and convenient better than God himself. In those actions there-
 fore the whole form whereof God hath of purpose set down to
 be observed, we may not otherwise do than exactly as he hath
 prescribed; in such things negative arguments are strong.

[5.] Again, with a negative argument David is pressed concerning the purpose he had to build a temple unto the Lord; "Thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt not build me a house to dwell in. Wheresoever I have walked with all Israel, spake I one word to any of the judges of Israel, whom I commanded to feed my people, saying, Why have ye not built me an house¹?" The Jews urged with a negative argument touching the aid which they sought at the hands of the King of Egypt; "Woe to those rebellious children, saith the Lord, which walk forth to go down into Egypt, and have not asked counsel at my mouth; to strengthen themselves with the strength of Pharaoh²." Finally, the league of Joshua with the Gabeonites is likewise with a negative argument touched. It was not as it should be: and why? the Lord gave them not that advice; "They sought not counsel at the mouth of the Lord³."

By the virtue of which examples if any man shall suppose the force of negative arguments approved, when they are taken from Scripture in such sort as we in this question are pressed therewith, they greatly deceive themselves. For unto which of all these was it said that they had done amiss, in purposing to do or in doing any thing at all which "the Scripture" commanded them not? Our question is, Whether all be sin which is done without direction by Scripture, and not, Whether the Israelites did at any time amiss by following their own minds without asking counsel of God. No, it was that people's singular privilege, a favour which God vouchsafed them above the rest of the world, that in the affairs of their estate which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himself gave them extraordinarily direction and counsel as oft as they sought it at his hands. Thus God did first by speech unto Moses, after by Urim and Thummim unto priests, lastly by dreams and visions unto prophets, from whom in such cases they were to receive the answer of God.

¹ 1 Chron. xvii. 6. ² Isaiah xxx. 1, 2. ³ Josh. ix. 14.

Concerning Josua therefore, thus spake the Lord unto Moses, saying, "He shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him by the judgment of Urim before the Lord¹;" whereof had Josua been mindful, the fraud of the Gabeonites could not so smoothly have passed unespied till there was no help.

The Jews had prophets to have resolved them from the mouth of God himself whether Egyptian aids should profit them, yea or no; but they thought themselves wise enough, and him unworthy to be of their counsel. In this respect therefore was their reproof though sharp yet just, albeit there had been no charge precisely given them that they should always take heed of Egypt.

But as for David, to think that he did evil in determining to build God a temple, because there was in Scripture no commandment that he should build it, were very injurious: the purpose of his heart was religious and godly, the act most worthy of honour and renown; neither could Nathan choose but admire his virtuous intent, exhort him to go forward, and beseech God to prosper him therein². But God saw the endless troubles which David should be subject unto during the whole time of his regiment, and therefore gave charge to defer so good a work to the days of tranquillity and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. David supposed that it could not stand with the duty which he owed unto God, to set himself in a house of cedar-trees, and to behold the ark of the Lord's covenant unsettled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by causing Nathan to shew him plainly, that it should be no more imputed unto him for a fault than it had been unto the Judges of Israel before him, his case being the same which theirs was, their times not more unquiet than his, not more unfit for such an action.

Wherefore concerning the force of negative arguments so taken from the authority of Scripture as by us they are denied, there is in all this less than nothing.

[4.] And touching that which unto this purpose is borrowed from the controversy sometime handled between M. Harding³

¹ Numb. xxvii. 21.

² 1 Chron. xviii. 2.

³ T. C. l. ii. p. 50: "M. Harding

"reproacheth the Bishop of Salis-

"bury with this kind of reasoning;

"unto whom the Bishop answereth,

BOOK II.
Ch. vi. 4.

and the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years¹, who being brought up together in one University², it fell out in them which was spoken of two others, "They learned in the same that which "in contrary camps they did practise³," of these two the one objecting that with us arguments taken from authority negatively are over common, the Bishop's answer hereunto is, that "This kind of argument is thought to be good, "whenever proof is taken of God's word; and is used not "only by us, but also by St. Paul, and by many of the Catholic "Fathers. St. Paul saith, God said not unto Abraham, 'In "thy seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed;' but, "In thy seed, which is Christ; and thereof he thought he "made a good argument⁴. Likewise, saith Origen, 'The "bread which the Lord gave unto his disciples, saying unto

¹ "The argument of authority negatively taken to be good, whenever proof is taken of God's word; and is used not only by us, but also by many of the Catholic Fathers." A little after he sheweth the reason why the argument of authority of the Scripture negatively is good; namely, 'For that the word of God is perfect.' In another place unto M. Harding casting him in the teeth with negative arguments, he allegeth places out of Irenaeus, Chrysostom, Leo, which reasoned negatively of the authority of the Scriptures. The places which he allegeth be very full and plain in generality, without any such restraints as the Answerer imagineth; as they are there to be seen.
² [Vaughan in his Life of Dr. Thos. Jackson, prefixed to his (Jackson's) works, p. 8, says of him, 'I shall willingly associate him to those other worthies, his predecessors in the same college, all living at the same time; to the invaluable Bishop Jewel, *Thesaurus gemmarum paucis articulis Christianitatis per aliquot annorum centenarios profertur maxime*; as grave Bishop Goodwin hath described him. To the famous Mr. Hooker, who by his solid writings was surnamed,

"The Judicious, and entitled by the same, *Theodoporum Cronium*;" "The Oxford of Divines;" as one calls Athens, 'The Greece of Greece itself.' To the learned Dr. Reynolds, who managed the government of the same college with the like care, honour and integrity, although not with the same austerities" as Dr. Jackson. Bishop Godwin borrowed the expression referred to (De Frevul. Angl. p. 394, ed. 1743,) from Hooker; and adds concerning him, that he was "a *sacrum Theologiae Literarum Græcæ nomen appellatus*."
³ [According to Camden, they were bred in the same grammar school also. "Out of this town's school" (he is speaking of Barnstaple) "there issued two right learned men and most renowned divines, John Jewell Bishop of Salisbury, and T. Hardinge." Britannia, transl. by Holland, p. 208.]
⁴ [vell. Patenc. "Iugurtha ac Marius sub eodem Africano militantes, in eisdem castris didicere "quæ pœnia in contrariis facerent." [L. v. c. 9.]
⁵ [Reply to M. Harding's Answer.] Art. I. Divis. 29. [p. 57, ed. 1611.]
⁶ Gal. iii. 16.

"them, Take and eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reserved till the next day!" Such arguments Origen and other learned Fathers thought to stand for good, whatsoever misliking Master Harding hath found in them. This kind of proof is thought to hold in God's commandments, for that they be full and perfect: and God hath specially charged us, that we should neither put to them nor take from¹ them; and therefore it seemeth good unto them that have learned of Christ, *Unus est Magister: vester, Christus*,² and have heard the voice of God the Father from heaven, *Ipsum audite*³. But unto them that add to the word of God what them listeth, and make God's will subject unto their will, and break God's commandments for their own tradition's sake, unto them it seemeth not good.

Again, the English Apology alleging the example of the Greeks, how they have neither private masses, nor mangled sacraments, nor purgatories, nor pardons; it pleaseth Master Harding to jest out the matter, to use the help of his wits where strength of truth failed him, and to answer with scoffing at negatives. The Bishop's defence in this case is⁴, "The ancient learned Fathers having to deal with impudent heretics, that in defence of their errors avouched the judgment of all the old bishops and doctors that had been before them, and the general consent of the primitive and whole universal Church, and that with as good regard of truth and as faithfully as you do now; the better to discover the shameless boldness and nakedness of their doctrine, were oftentimes likewise forced to use the negative, and so to drive the same heretics, as we do you, to prove their affirmatives, which thing to do it was never possible. The ancient father Irenæus thus stayed himself, as we do, by the negative", *Hoc neque Prophetæ prædicaverunt, neque Dominus docuit, neque Apostoli tradiderunt*; "This thing neither did the Prophets publish, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apostles deliver." By a like negative Chrysostom saith⁵,

¹ Orig. in Levit. Hom. 5. [t. ii. 211. ed. Bened.] ² Lib. i. cap. 1.
³ [Iren.] *adv. h. 1. 2. 4* 1886. ⁴ De incorp. nat. Dei, Hom. 3. l. vi. 403. [Iren. *adv. h. 1. 2. 4* 1886.]
⁵ Matt. xxiii. 8. 10. ⁵ Paulus præterivit, non Apollonis rogavit, non Deus auxit.

⁶ Matt. xvii. 5.
⁷ Defens. par. v. cap. 15. divis. 1.

BOOK II. Ch. vi. 4
 "This tree neither Paul planted, nor Apollos watered, nor God increased.' In like sort Leo saith¹, 'What needeth it to believe that thing that neither the Law hath taught, nor the Prophets have spoken, nor the Gospel hath preached, nor the Apostles have delivered?' And again², 'How are the new devices brought in that our Fathers never knew?' St. Augustine, having reckoned up a great number of the Bishops of Rome, by a general negative saith thus³; 'In all this order of succession of bishops there is not one bishop found that was a Donatist.' St. Gregory being himself a Bishop of Rome, and writing against the title of *Universal Bishop*, saith thus⁴, 'None of all my predecessors ever consented to use this ungodly title; no Bishop of Rome ever took upon him this name of singularity.' By such negatives, M. Harding, we reprove the vanity and novelty of your religion; we tell you, none of the catholic ancient learned Fathers either Greek or Latin, ever used either your private mass, or your half communion, or your barbarous unknown prayers. Paul never planted them, Apollos never watered them, God never increased them; they are of yourselves, they are not of God."

In all this there is not a syllable which any way crosseth us. For concerning arguments negative even taken from human authority, they are here proved to be in some cases very strong and forcible. They are not in our estimation idle reproofs, when the authors of needless innovations are opposed with such negatives as that of Leo, "How are these new devices brought in which our Fathers never knew?" When their grave and reverend superiors do reckon up unto them as Augustine did unto the Donatists, large catalogues of Fathers wondered at for their wisdom, piety, and learning⁵, amongst

¹ Epist. xciii. c. 12. [p. 165, ed. Paris. 1639: "Quid opus est in cor
admittere quod lex non docuit,
quod prophetia non cecinit, quod
Evangelii veritas non predicavit,
quod Apostolica doctrina non tra-
didit?"]
² Epist. xxvii. c. 1. ["Quomodo
... nova inducuntur, que nostri
nunquam sensere majores?"]
Quoted by S. Leo from S. Ambrose,
de Incarn. Dom. c. 6.]
³ Epist. clxv. [al. 53. t. ii. 121.]

"In hoc ordine successionis nullus
Donatiana episcopus invenitur."
⁴ Lib. iv. Ep. 35. ["Nemo de-
cessorum meorum hoc tam pro-
fano vocabulo uti consensit: nul-
lus Romanorum Pontificum hoc
singularitatis nomen assumpsit."]
⁵ [S. Aug. Ep. 53. [al. 165.]
§ 2. "Si ordo episcoporum sibi
succedentium considerandus est,
quanto certius et vere salubriter
ab ipso Petro numeratus, cui
totius Ecclesie figuram gerenti

whom for so many ages before us no one did ever so think of the Church's affairs as now the world doth begin to be persuaded; surely by us they are not taught to take exception hereat, because such arguments are negative. Much less when the like are taken from the sacred authority of Scripture, if the matter itself do bear them. For in truth the question is not, whether an argument from Scripture negatively may be good, but whether it be so generally good, that in all actions men may urge it. The Fathers I grant do use very general and large terms, even as Hiero the king did in speaking of Archimedes, "From henceforward, whatsoever Archimedes speaketh, it must be believed!" His meaning was not that Archimedes could simply in nothing be deceived, but that he had in such sort approved his skill, that he seemed worthy of credit for ever after in matters appertaining unto the science he was skilful in. In speaking thus largely it is presumed that men's speeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they speak. Let any man therefore that carrieth indifferency of judgment peruse the bishop's speeches, and consider well of those negatives concerning Scripture, which he produceth out of Irenæus, Chrysostom and Leo³;

BOOK II.
Ch. vi. 4.

¹ Dominus ait, "Super hanc petram
"edificabo Ecclesiam meam, et
"portæ inferorum non vincunt eam."
² Petro enim successit Linus; Linus,
"Clemens; Clementi, Anacletus;
"Anacletus, Evaristus; Evaristo,
"Alexander; Alexandro, Sixtus;
"Sixto, Telesphorus; Telesphoro,
"Iginus; Iginio, Anicetus; Aniceto,
"Pius; Pio, Soter; Soteri, Eleuther-
"ius; Eleutherio, Victor; Victori,
"Zephyrinus; Zephyrino, Callistus;
"Callisto, Urbanus; Urbano, Pion-
"ianus; Pontiano, Antherus; An-
"thero, Fabianus; Fabiano, Cor-
"nellius; Cornelio, Lucius; Lucio,
"Stephanus; Stephano, Xystus;
"Xysto, Dionysius; Dionysio, Felix;
"Felicis, Eutychianus; Eutychiano,
"Gaius; Gaius, Marcellinus; Mar-
"cellino, Marcellus; Marcello, Euse-
"bius; Eusebio, Milonius; Mil-
"oni, Sylvester; Sylvestro, Marcus;
"Marco, Julius; Julio, Liberius;
"Liberio, Damasus; Damaso, Si-
"ricius; Siricio, Anastasius. In hoc
"ordine successione nullus Dona-

"ista Episcopus invenitur."
³ [Proclus in Euclid, II. 3. Mon-
"tana, Hist. des Mathématicques, I.
"230.]
⁴ S. Irenæus, I. i. 15. (after a
"minute exposition of the Valen-
"tinian doctrine of *Ælius*;) *Τουτοις*
δὲ τῶν θεοδικτων αἰτιῶν αὐτου, ἡ αὐτοῦ
*προφητεία ἀκριβοῦς, ὅτι ἐν κείνῳ ἐβ-
"δατο, ὅτι Ἀποστολοῦ μαρτυροῦν, ἡ*
αὐτοῦ τῶν ὁμων ἀκριβοῦς ἑλεῖν τῶν
ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, ἐν
ἑαυτοῦ ἀκριβοῦς ἑλεῖν ἀποφασίζοντες
ἀποδείκνυσι προσαρμόζοντα τὰς
ἐπισημασίας τῶν προφητικῶν κειμένων, ἡ
*ἴσως προφητικῶν, ἡ λέγουσι Ἀποστο-
"λικῶν, ὅτι τὸ πλάσμα αὐτῶν μὴ ἀμάρ-
"τηρον εἶναι δοῦν.*
S. Chrysostom, VI. p. 402, 3.
(speaking of one of the most offen-
"sive modifications of Arianism.)
Ἢ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἀποδείκνυσι φωνῆ,
καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τῶν προφῶν ἀκριβοῦς
αὐτοῦ ἀποδείκνυσι, ὅτι αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ
ἀκριβοῦς τῶν ἀκριβῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβῶν
ἀκριβοῦς αὐτοῦ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν αὐτοῦ



contradict all Analogy from Temporal Affairs. 319

Samaritans in a matter of far greater moment upon the report of a simple woman. For so it is said in St. John's Gospel, "Many of the Samaritans of that city believed in him for the saying of the woman, which testified, He hath told me all things that ever I did!"

The strength of man's authority is affirmatively such that the weightiest affairs in the world depend thereon. In judgment and justice are not hereupon proceedings grounded? Saith not the Law that "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be confirmed?" This the law of God would not say, if there were in a man's testimony no force at all to prove any thing.

And if it be admitted that in matter of fact there is some credit to be given to the testimony of man, but not in matter of opinion and judgment; we see the contrary both acknowledged and universally practised also throughout the world. The sentences of wise and expert men were never but highly esteemed. Let the title of a man's right be called in question; are we not bold to rely and build upon the judgment of such as are famous for their skill in the laws of this land? In matter of state the weight many times of some one man's authority is thought reason sufficient, even to sway over whole nations.

And this not only "with the simpler sort;" but the learner and wiser we are, the more such arguments in some cases prevail with us. The reason why the simpler sort are moved with authority is the conscience of their own ignorance; whereby it cometh to pass that having learned men in admiration, they rather fear to dislike them than know wherefore they should allow and follow their judgments. Contrariwise with them that are skilful authority is much more strong and forcible; because they only are able to discern how just cause there is why to some men's authority so much should be attributed. For which cause the name of Hippocrates (no doubt) were more effectual to persuade even such men as Galen himself, than to move a silly empiric. So that the very selfsame argument in this kind which doth but induce the vulgar sort to like, may constrain the wiser to yield. And therefore not orators only with the people, but even the very

¹ *iv. 39.*

² *Deut. xix. 15; Matt. xviii. 16.*

BOOK II.
Ch. vi. 4.

BOOK II. profoundest disputers in all faculties have hereby often with
Ch. vi. 3 the best learned prevailed most.

As for arguments taken from human authority and that negatively; for example sake, if we should think the assembling of the people of God together by the sound of a bell, the presenting of infants at the holy font by such as commonly we call their godfathers, or any other the like received custom, to be impious, because some men of whom we think very reverently have in their books and writings nowhere mentioned or taught that such things should be in the Church; this reasoning were subject unto just reproof, it were but feeble, weak, and unsound. Notwithstanding even negatively an argument from human authority may be strong, as namely thus: The Chronicles of England mention no moe than only six kings bearing the name of Edward since the time of the last conquest; therefore it cannot be there should be moe. So that if the question be of the authority of a man's testimony, we cannot simply avouch either that affirmatively it doth not any way hold; or that it hath only force to induce the simpler sort, and not to constrain men of understanding and ripe judgment to yield assent; or that negatively it hath in it no strength at all. For unto every of these the contrary is most plain.

[3.] Neither doth that which is alleged concerning the infirmity of men overthrow or disprove this. Men are blinded with ignorance and error; many things may escape them, and in many things they may be deceived; yea, those things which they do know they may either forget, or upon sundry indirect considerations let pass; and although themselves do not err, yet may they through malice or vanity even of purpose deceive others. Howbeit infinite cases there are wherein all these impediments and lets are so manifestly excluded, that there is no show or colour whereby any such exception may be taken, but that the testimony of man will stand as a ground of infallible assurance. That there is a city of Rome, that Pius Quintus and Gregory the Thirteenth and others have been Popes of Rome, I suppose we are certainly enough persuaded. The ground of our persuasion, who never saw the place nor persons beforenamed, can be nothing but man's testimony. Will any man here notwithstanding allege those

mentioned human infirmities, as reasons why these things should be mistrusted or doubted of?

Yea, that which is more, utterly to infringe the force and strength of man's testimony were to shake the very fortress of God's truth. For whatsoever we believe concerning salvation by Christ, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our belief; yet the authority of man is, if we mark it, the key which openeth the door of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture could not teach us the things that are of God, unless we did credit men who have taught us that the words of Scripture do signify those things. Some way therefore, notwithstanding man's infirmity, yet his authority may enforce assent.

[4.] Upon better advice and deliberation so much is perceived, and at the length confest; that arguments taken from the authority of men may not only so far forth as hath been declared, but further also be of some force in "human sciences;" which force be it never so small, doth shew that they are not utterly naught. But in "matters divine" it is still maintained stiffly, that they have no manner force at all¹. Howbeit, the very selfsame reason, which causeth to yield that they are of some force in the one, will at the length constrain also to acknowledge that they are not in the other altogether unforcible. For if the natural strength of man's wit may by experience and study attain unto such ripeness in the knowledge of things human, that men in this respect may

¹ T. C. 2d. li. p. 19: "Although that kind of argument of authority of men is good neither in human nor divine sciences; yet it hath some small force in human sciences, (forasmuch as naturally, and in that he is a man, he may come to some ripeness of judgment in those sciences,) which in divine matters hath no force at all; as of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can no more judge of them than a blind man of colours. Yea so far is it from drawing credit, if it be barely spoken without reason and testimony of Scripture, that it carrieth also a suspicion of untruth whatsoever proceedeth from him; which the Apostle did

well note, when, to signify a thing corruptly spoken, and against the truth, he saith, that 'it is spoken according to man; Rom. iii. He saith not, 'as a wicked and lying man,' but simply, 'as a man.' And although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for so much as in whom the knowledge of the truth is most advanced there remaineth both ignorance and disordered affections (whereof either of them turneth him from speaking of the truth), no man's authority, with the Church especially and those that are called and persuaded of the authority of the Word of God, can bring any assurance unto the conscience."

BOOK II. presume to build somewhat upon their judgment; what reason
CH. VI. 5. have we to think but that even in matters divine, the like
wits furnished with necessary helps, exercised in Scripture
with like diligence, and assisted with the grace of Almighty
God, may grow unto so much perfection of knowledge, that
men shall have just cause, when any thing pertinent unto faith
and religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their
minds towards that which the sentence of so grave, wise, and
learned in that faculty shall judge most sound? For the con-
troversy is of the weight of such men's judgments. Let it
therefore be suspected; let it be taken as gross, corrupt, re-
pugnant unto the truth, whatsoever concerning things divine
above nature shall at any time be spoken as out of the
mouths of mere natural men, which have not the eyes where-
with heavenly things are discerned. For this we contend
not. But whom God hath endued with principal gifts to
aspire unto knowledge by; whose exercises, labours, and
divine studies he hath so blessed that the world for their great
and rare skill that way hath them in singular admiration;
may we reject even their judgment likewise, as being utterly
of no moment? For mine own part, I dare not so lightly
esteem of the Church, and of the principal pillars therein.

[5.] The truth is, that the mind of man desireth evermore
to know the truth according to the most infallible certainty
which the nature of things can yield. The greatest assurance
generally with all men is that which we have by plain aspect
and intuitive beholding. Where we cannot attain unto this,
there what appeareth to be true by strong and invincible
demonstration, such as wherein it is not by any way possible
to be deceived, thereunto the mind doth necessarily assent,
neither is it in the choice thereof to do otherwise. And in
case these both do fail, then which way greatest probability
leadeth, thither the mind doth evermore incline. Scripture
with Christian men being received as the Word of God; that
for which we have probable, yea, that which we have necessary
reason for, yea, that which we see with our eyes, is not thought
so sure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth; because
we hold that his speech revealeth there what himself seeth,
and therefore the strongest proof of all, and the most necessarily
assented unto by us (which do thus receive the Scripture) is

there must be corresponding Degrees in Assent. 323

the Scripture. Now it is not required or can be exacted at our hands, that we should yield unto any thing other assent, than such as doth answer the evidence which is to be had of that we assent unto. For which cause even in matters divine, concerning some things we may lawfully doubt and suspend our judgment, inclining neither to one side nor other; as namely touching the time of the fall both of man and angels: of some things we may very well retain an opinion that they are probable and not unlikely to be true, as when we hold that men have their souls rather by creation than propagation, or that the Mother of our Lord lived always in the state of virginity as well after his birth as before (for of these two the one, her virginity before, is a thing which of necessity we must believe; the other, her continuance in the same state always, hath more likelihood of truth than the contrary); finally in all things then are our consciences best resolved, and in most agreeable sort unto God and nature settled, when they are so far persuaded as those grounds of persuasion which are to be had will bear.

Which thing I do so much the rather set down, for that I see how a number of souls are for want of right information in this point oftentimes grievously vexed. When bare and unbidden conclusions are put into their minds, they finding not themselves to have thereof any great certainty, imagine that this proceedeth only from lack of faith, and that the Spirit of God doth not work in them as it doth in true believers; by this means their hearts are much troubled, they fall into anguish and perplexity: whereas the truth is, that how bold and confident soever we may be in words, when it cometh to the point of trial, such as the evidence is which the truth hath either in itself or through proof, such is the heart's assent thereunto; neither can it be stronger, being grounded as it should be.

I grant that proof derived from the authority of man's judgment is not able to work that assurance which doth grow by a stronger proof; and therefore although ten thousand general councils would set down one and the same definitive sentence concerning any point of religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative reason alleged, or one manifest testimony cited from the mouth of God himself to the contrary, could not

BOOK II.
Ch. vi. 3.

BOOK II. choose but outweigh them all; inasmuch as for them to
 CH. VI. 6. have been deceived it is not impossible; it is, that demon-
 strative reason or testimony divine should deceive. Howbeit
 in defect of proof infallible, because the mind doth rather
 follow probable persuasions than approve the things that
 have in them no likelihood of truth at all; surely if a question
 concerning matter of doctrine were proposed, and on the one
 side no kind of proof appearing, there should on the other
 be alleged and shewed that so a number of the learnedest
 divines in the world have ever thought; although it did not
 appear what reason or what Scripture led them to be of that
 judgment, yet to their very bare judgment somewhat a reason-
 able man would attribute, notwithstanding the common
 imbecilities which are incident into our nature.

[6.] And whereas it is thought, that especially with "the
 Church, and those that are called and persuaded of the
 authority of the Word of God, man's authority" with them
 especially "should not prevail;" it must and doth prevail
 even with them, yea with them especially, as far as equity
 requireth; and farther we maintain it not¹. For men to be

¹ T. C. 33. 2. p. 21: "Of divers
 sentences of the Fathers them-
 selves (whereby some have likened
 them to brute beasts without
 reason which suffer themselves to
 be led by the judgment and au-
 thority of others, some have pre-
 ferred the judgment of one simple
 rude man alleging reason unto
 companies of learned men) I will
 content myself at this time with
 two or three sentences. Irenæus
 saith, Whatsoever is to be shewed
 in the Scriptures cannot be shewed
 but out of the Scriptures them-
 selves. lib. iii. cap. 12. Jerome
 saith, "No man be he never so
 holy or eloquent hath any authority
 after the Apostles;" in Ps. lxxxvi.
 Augustine saith, "That he will
 believe none how godly and learn-
 ed soever he be, unless he confirm
 his sentence by the Scriptures, or
 by some reason not contrary to
 them." Ep. 18. [al. 82. t. ii. p.
 100.] "And in another place, Hear
 this, the Lord saith; Hear not
 this, Donatus saith, Rogatus saith,
 Vincentius saith, Hilarius saith,
 Ambrose saith, Augustine saith,
 but hearken unto this, The Lord
 saith. Ep. 48. [al. 93. c. 6. Opp.
 t. ii. p. 239.] It may be questioned
 whether this place is at all relevant
 to Cartwright's purpose. *Glorifica-
 tionem eil nomen meum in gentibus,
 dicit Dominus. Audi, dicit Dominus;
 non, dicit Donatus, aut Rogatus,
 aut Vincentius, aut Hilarius, aut
 Ambrosius, aut Augustinus; sed,
 dicit Dominus; cum legitur, Et
 ascenditur in eo omnis tribus
 terra. . . . Et respicitur gloria ejus
 omnis terra, fiat, fiat. Et tu sedes
 Carmenis, et cum decem Regationis,
 qui remanentis, dicit, Non fiat, non
 fiat.* "And again, having so do
 "with an Arian, he affirmeth that
 "neither he ought to bring forth
 "the Council of Nice, nor the other
 "the Council of Arminie, thereby
 "to bring prejudice each to other;
 "neither ought the Arian to be
 "holden by the authority of the one
 "nor himself by the authority of
 "the other, but by the Scriptures,

tied and led by authority, as it were with a kind of captivity of judgment, and though there be reason to the contrary not to listen unto it, but to follow like beasts the first in the herd, they know not nor care not whither, this were brutish. Again, that authority of men should prevail with men either against or above Reason, is no part of our belief. "Companies of learned men" be they never so great and reverend, are to yield unto Reason; the weight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the simplicity of his person which doth allege it, but being found to be sound and good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary must of necessity stoop and give place.

Irenæus¹, writing against Marcion, which held one God author of the Old Testament and another of the New, to prove that the Apostles preached the same God which was known before to the Jews, he copiously allegeth sundry their sermons and speeches uttered concerning that matter and recorded in Scripture. And lest any should be wearied with such store of allegations, in the end he concludeth, "While we labour for these demonstrations out of Scripture, and do summarily declare the things which many ways have been

"which are witnesses proper to neither but common to both, matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason, ought to be debated. Cont. Max. Arian. lib. iii. c. 14." [al. lib. ii. c. 14. § 3. t. viii. 704. Nec nunc ego Nicænum, nec tu debes Arianense tanquam præjudicaturus proferre concilium. Nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius detestis. Scripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumque propriis, sed utriusque communibus testibus, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet.] "And in another place against Irenæus the Donatist he saith, Let not these words be heard between us, I say, "You say; let us hear this, Thus saith the Lord. And by and by speaking of the Scriptures he saith, "There let us seek the Church, there let us try the cause. De Unit. Eccles. cap. 5." [cap. 2. §. Inter nos et Donatistas questio est, ubi sit hoc corpus: i. e. ubi sit Ecclesia. Quid ergo facturi sumus? in

verbis nostris eam quaesituri; an in verbis capituli sui, Domini nostri Jesu Christi? Puto, quod in illius potius verbis eam quaerere debemus, qui Veritas est, et optime novit corpus suum... In verbis nostris Ecclesiam quaeri volumus... c. 5. Non audiamus, "Hæc dicis, hoc dico," sed audiamus, "Hæc dicit Dominus." Sicut certe illi Dominici, quorum auctoritati utriusque consentimus, utriusque cedimus, utriusque serui sumus: ibi quaeramus Ecclesiam, ibi discutiamus causam nostram.] "Hereby [here] it is manifest that the argument of the authority of man affirmatively is nothing worth." [P. 230. ed. Græbe. "Nobis autem collaborantibus his ostensionibus que ex Scripturis sunt, et que multitudine dicta sunt breviter et compendiose ammonitionibus, et tu cum magnanimitate attende eis, et non iniquiloquium puta; hoc intelligens: quoniam," &c.]

BOOK II.
Ch. vi. 6.
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BOOK II.
Ch. 46. A.
"spoken, be contented quietly to hear, and do not think my
"speech tedious: Quoniam ostensiones quae sunt in Scriptu-
"ris non possunt ostendi nisi ex ipsis Scripturis; Because
"demonstrations that are in Scripture may not otherwise be
"shewed than by citing them out of the Scriptures themselves
"where they are." Which words make so little unto the
purpose, that they seem as it were offended at him which
hath called them thus solemnly forth to say nothing.

And concerning the verdict of Jerome¹; if no man, be
he never so well learned, have after the Apostles any authority
to publish new doctrine as from heaven, and to require the
world's assent as unto truth received by prophetic revelation;
doth this prejudice the credit of learned men's judgments
in opening that truth, which by being conversant in the
Apostles' writings they have themselves from thence learned?

St. Augustine exhorteth not to hear men, but to hearken
what God speaketh. His purpose is not (I think) that we
should stop our ears against his own exhortation, and there-
fore he cannot mean simply that audience should altogether be
denied unto men, but either that if men speak one thing and
God himself teach another, then be not they to be obeyed; or
if they both speak the same thing, yet then also man's speech
unworthy of hearing, not simply, but in comparison of that
which proceedeth from the mouth of God.

"Yea, but we doubt what the will of God is." Are we in
this case forbidden to hear what men of judgment think it to
be? If not, then this allegation also might very well have
been spared.

In that ancient strife which was between the catholic
Fathers and Arians, Donatists, and others of like perverse
and froward disposition, as long as to Fathers or councils
alleged on the one side the like by the contrary side were
opposed, impossible it was that ever the question should by
this means grow unto any issue or end. The Scripture they
both believed: the Scripture they knew could not give

¹ [viii. 127. C. sup. Psalm. 86. "Qui fuerunt non qui sunt." v. 6.] Dominus narrabit in scrip-
tura popularum et principum, "si exceptis Apostolis, quosdamque
"horum qui fuerunt in ea." "Prin- "non habet postea auctoritatem,
"cipum." hoc est, Apostolorum et "Quamvis ergo sanctus sit aliquis
"Evangelistarum. "Horum qui "post Apostolos, quamvis diversus
"fuerunt in ea." Videte quid dicat: "sit, non habet auctoritatem."

sentence on both sides ; by Scripture the controversy between them was such as might be determined. In this case what madness was it with such kinds of proofs to nourish their contention, when there were such effectual means to end all controversy that was between them! Hereby therefore it doth not as yet appear, that an argument of authority of man affirmatively is in matters divine nothing worth.

Which opinion being once inserted into the minds of the vulgar sort, what it may grow unto God knoweth. Thus much we see, it hath already made thousands so headstrong even in gross and palpable errors, that a man whose capacity will scarce serve him to utter five words in sensible manner bluseth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare *Yes* as good as the *No* of all the wise, grave, and learned judgments that are in the whole world: which insolency must be repressed, or it will be the very bane of Christian religion.

[7.] Our Lord's disciples marking what speech he uttered unto them, and at the same time calling to mind a common opinion held by the Scribes, between which opinion and the words of their Master it seemed unto them that there was some contradiction, which they could not themselves answer with full satisfaction of their own minds; the doubt they propose to our Saviour, saying, "Why then say the Scribes that Elias must first come?" They knew that the Scribes did err greatly, and that many ways even in matters of their own profession. They notwithstanding thought the judgment of the very Scribes in matters divine to be of some value; some probability they thought there was that Elias should come, inasmuch as the Scribes said it. Now no truth can contradict any truth; desirous therefore they were to be taught how both might stand together; that which they knew could not be false, because Christ spake it; and this which to them did seem true, only because the Scribes had said it. For the Scripture, from whence the Scribes did gather it, was not then in their heads. We do not find that our Saviour reproved them of error, for thinking the judgment of the Scribes to be worth the objecting, for esteeming it to be of any moment or value in matters concerning God.

¹ [S. Mat. vii. 16.]

BOOK 13. [8.] We cannot therefore be persuaded that the will of
 CH. 10 8. 9
 God is, we should so far reject the authority of men as to
 reckon it nothing. No, it may be a question, whether they
 that urge us unto this be themselves so persuaded indeed¹.
 Men do sometimes bewray that by deeds, which to confess
 they are hardly drawn. Mark then if this be not general
 with all men for the most part. When the judgments of
 learned men are alleged against them, what do they but
 either elevate their credit, or oppose unto them the judgments
 of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all
 men acknowledge in them some force and weight, for which
 they are loath the cause they maintain should be so much
 weakened as their testimony is available. Again, what
 reason is there why alleging testimonies as proofs, men
 give them some title of credit, honour, and estimation,
 whom they allege, unless beforehand it be sufficiently known
 who they are; what reason hereof but only a common
 ingrafted persuasion, that in some men there may be found
 such qualities as are able to countervail those exceptions
 which might be taken against them, and that such men's
 authority is not lightly to be shaken off?

[9.] Shall I add further, that the force of arguments
 drawn from the authority of Scripture itself, as Scriptures
 commonly are alleged, shall (being sifted) be found to depend
 upon the strength of this so much despised and debased
 authority of man? Surely it doth, and that oftener than we
 are aware of. For although Scripture be of God, and there-
 fore the proof which is taken from thence must needs be
 of all other most invincible; yet this strength it hath not,
 unless it avouch the selfsame thing for which it is brought.
 If there be either undeniable appearance that so it doth, or
 reason such as cannot deceive, then Scripture-proof (no

¹ [Christ. Letter, p. 8: "We
 pray you to explain your owne
 meaning, whether you thinke
 that there be any naturall light,
 teaching knowledge of things ne-
 cessarie to salvation, which know-
 ledge is not contained in holy
 Scriptures." Hooker, M.S. note:
 "They are matters of salvation I
 think which you handle in this
 booke. If therefore determinable
 only by Scripture, why presse
 you me so often with humane
 authorities? Why alleage you
 the Articles of Religion as the
 voice of the Church against me?
 Why cite you so many commen-
 taries, booke and sermons, partly
 of Bishops, partly of others?"]

doubt) in strength and value exceedeth all. But for the most part, even such as are readiest to cite for one thing five hundred sentences of holy Scripture; what warrant have they, that any one of them doth mean the thing for which it is alleged? Is not their surest ground most commonly, either some probable conjecture of their own, or the judgment of others taking those Scriptures as they do? Which notwithstanding to mean otherwise than they take them, it is not still altogether impossible. So that now and then they ground themselves on human authority, even when they most pretend divine. Thus it fareth even clean throughout the whole controversy about that discipline which is so earnestly urged and laboured for. Scriptures are plentifully alleged to prove that the whole Christian world for ever ought to embrace it. Hereupon men term it *The discipline of God*. Howbeit examine, sift and resolve their alleged proofs, till you come to the very root from whence they spring, the heart wherein their strength lieth; and it shall clearly appear unto any man of judgment, that the most which can be inferred upon such plenty of divine testimonies is only this, That *some things* which they maintain, as far as *some men can probably conjecture*, do seem to have been out of Scripture *not absurdly* gathered. Is this a warrant sufficient for any man's conscience to build such proceedings upon, as have been and are put in ure for the stablishment of that cause?

[10.] But to conclude, I would gladly understand how it cometh to pass, that they which so peremptorily do maintain that human authority is nothing worth are in the cause which they favour so careful to have the common sort of men persuaded, that the wisest, the godliest and the best learned in all Christendom are that way given, seeing they judge this to make nothing in the world for them. Again how cometh it to pass they cannot abide that authority should be alleged on the other side, if there be no force at all in authorities on one side or other? Wherefore labour they to strip their adversaries of such furniture as doth not help? Why take they such needless pains to furnish also their own cause with the like? If it be void and to no purpose that the names of men are so frequent in their books,

BOOK II. what did move them to bring them in, or doth to suffer them
Ch. viii. there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is salved,
 "They do it not but after the truth made manifest first
 "by reason or by Scripture: they do it not but to control
 "the enemies of the truth, who bear themselves bold upon
 "human authority making not for them but against them
 "rather!" Which answers are nothing: for in what place
 or upon what consideration soever it be they do it, were it in
 their own opinion of no force being done, they would un-
 doubtedly refrain to do it.

A decla-
 tion what
 the truth
 is in this
 matter. VIII. But to the end it may more plainly appear what
 we are to judge of their sentences, and of the cause itself
 wherein they are alleged: first it may not well be denied,
 that all actions of men endued with the use of reason are
 generally either good or evil. For although it be granted
 that no action is properly termed good or evil unless it
 be voluntary; yet this can be no let to our former assertion,
 That all actions of men endued with the use of reason are
 generally either good or evil; because even those things
 are done voluntarily by us which other creatures do naturally,
 inasmuch as we might stay our doing of them if we would.
 Beasts naturally do take their food and rest when it offereth
 itself unto them. If men did so too, and could not do other-
 wise of themselves, there were no place for any such reproof
 as that of our Saviour Christ unto his disciples¹, "Could ye
 "not watch with me one hour?" That which is voluntarily
 performed in things tending to the end, if it be well done, must
 needs be done with deliberate consideration of some reasonable
 cause wherefore we rather should do it than not. Whereupon
 it seemeth, that in such actions only those are said to be good
 or evil which are capable of deliberation: so that many things
 being hourly done by men, wherein they need not use with
 themselves any manner of consultation at all, it may perhaps
 hereby seem that well or ill-doing belongeth only to our

¹ "If at any time it happened "that also being provoked by the
 "unto Augustine (as it did against "adversaries of the truth, who bare
 "the Donatists and others) to al- "themselves high of some council,
 "lege the authority of the ancient "or of some man of name that had
 "Fathers which had been before "favoured that part." T. C. lib. ii.
 "him; yet this was not done be- p. 22.
 "fore he had laid a sure foundation " Matt. xxvi. 40.
 "of his cause in the Scriptures, and

weightier affairs, and to those deeds which are of so great importance that they require advice. But thus to determine were perilous, and peradventure unsound also. I do rather incline to think, that seeing all the unforced actions of men are voluntary, and all voluntary actions tending to the end have choice, and all choice presupposeth the knowledge of some cause wherefore we make it: where the reasonable cause of such actions so readily offereth itself that it needeth not to be sought for; in those things though we do not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the will, which may incline either way, and would not any one way bend itself, if there were not some apparent motive to lead it. Deliberation actual we use, when there is doubt what we should incline our wills unto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent unto the thing, but as needless in regard of the agent, which seeth already what to resolve upon. It hath no apparent absurdity therefore in it to think, that all actions of men endued with the use of reason are generally either good or evil.

[2.] Whatsoever is good, the same is also approved of God: and according unto the sundry degrees of goodness, the kinds of divine approbation are in like sort multiplied. Some things are good, yet in so mean a degree of goodness, that men are only not disproved nor disallowed of God for them. "No man hateth his own flesh¹." "If ye do good unto them that do so to you, the very publicans themselves do as much²." "They are worse than infidels that have no care to provide for their own³." In actions of this sort, the very light of Nature alone may discover that which is so far forth in the sight of God allowable.

[3.] Some things in such sort are allowed, that they be also required as necessary unto salvation, by way of direct immediate and proper necessity final; so that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary course be saved, nor by any means be excluded from life observing them. In actions of this kind our chiefest direction is from Scripture, for Nature is no sufficient teacher what we should do that

¹ Ephes. v. 29.

² Mat. v. 46.

³ 1 Tim. v. 8.

BOOK II. we may attain unto life everlasting. The insufficiency of the
 Ch. viii. 4. 5 light of Nature is by the light of Scripture so fully and so
 perfectly herein supplied, that further light than this hath
 added there doth not need unto that end.

[4.] Finally some things, although not so required of necessity that to leave them undone excludeth from salvation, are notwithstanding of so great dignity and acceptation with God, that most ample reward in heaven is laid up for them. Hereof we have no commandment either in Nature or Scripture which doth exact them at our hands; yet those motives there are in both which draw most effectually our minds unto them. In this kind there is not the least action but it doth somewhat make to the accessory augmentation of our bliss. For which cause our Saviour doth plainly witness, that there shall not be as much as a cup of cold water bestowed for his sake without reward¹. Hereupon dependeth whatsoever difference there is between the states of saints in glory; hither we refer whatsoever belongeth unto the highest perfection of man by way of service towards God; herunto that fervour and first love of Christians did bend itself, causing them to sell their possessions, and lay down the price at the blessed Apostles' feet². Hereat St. Paul undoubtedly did aim in so far abridging his own liberty, and exceeding that which the bond of necessary and enjoined duty tied him unto³.

[5.] Wherefore seeing that in all these several kinds of actions there can be nothing possibly evil which God approveth; and that he approveth much more than he doth command⁴; and that his very commandments in some kind,

¹ Matt. x. 42. "tion from God. Yea, he himself
² Acts iv. 34, 35. = doth counsell that which he doth
³ 1 Thess. ii. 7, 9. = not command, and they that fol-
⁴ [Chr. Letter, p. 15: "Whether = lowed his counsell did well, al-
 we may not justly judge, that in = though they did it not by way of
 thus speaking you saw the seeds = necessary obedience, but of volun-
 of that doctrine which leadeth = tary choice.
 men to those arrogant workes of = "Was the sale of Ananias his
 "supererogation." land allowed in God's sight? I
 Hooker, MS. note: "Did God = hope you will graunt it was, sith
 command Paul not to marry, or = the Holy Ghost commendeth
 not to receive his daily mainte- = sundry others which did the like.
 nance from the Church? He re- = His purpose in selling was good,
 frained both without command- = but his fraud irreligious and wicked
 ment, but not without approba- = in withholding the price which

as namely his precepts comprehended in the law of nature, may be otherwise known than only by Scripture; and that to do them, howsoever we know them, must needs be acceptable in his sight¹: let them with whom we have hitherto disputed consider well, how it can stand with reason to make the bare mandate of sacred Scripture the only rule of all good and evil in the actions of mortal men. The testimonies of God are true, the testimonies of God are perfect, the testimonies of God are all sufficient unto that end for which they were given. Therefore accordingly we do receive them, we do not think that in them God hath omitted any thing needful unto his purpose, and left his intent to be accomplished by our devisings. What the Scripture purporeth, the same in all points it doth perform.

Howbeit that here we swerve not in judgment, one thing especially we must observe, namely that the absolute perfection of Scripture is seen by relation unto that end whereto it tendeth. And even hereby it cometh to pass, that first such as imagine the general and main drift of the body of sacred Scripture not to be so large as it is, nor that God did

"he pretended to give whole. Yeat
"did not God command Ananias or
"the yeast to make any such sale.
"For then how should Peter have
"said it was free for Ananias to
"have retained it in his hands?
"God did therefore approve what
"he did not command in that ac-
"tion.
"Had not the Law as well free
"offerings, which were approved,
"as necessary, which were com-
"manded of God?
"If I should ask, have you
"sinned in not setting your name
"to your book, I am very sure you
"will answer, no, but that you
"have done what God alloweth.
"Yeat hath not God I think com-
"manded that you should conceal
"your name: and so you have
"shewed yourself here a Papist by
"doing a work of supererogation,
"if every thing done and not com-
"manded be such a work. The like
"might be said although you had
"put your name thereto. For the
"case is like in all works indifferent.

"But as for supererogation in pope-
"rie, it belongeth unto satisfactory
"actions, and not unto meritorious.
"Whereas therefore with them
"workes not commanded are chiefly
"meritorious, and in merit no su-
"pererogation held, you do ill to
"say that he which maketh any
"thing not commanded allowable
"establisheth workes of superero-
"gation."
Chr. Letter, p. 15. "You ap-
"peare to us to scatter the pro-
"phane graines of poperie."
Hooker, MS. note. "It is not I
"that scatter, but you that gather
"more than ever was let fall."
[Hooker, MS. note on Chr.
Letter, p. 14. "De imperfectione
"bonorum operum vide Hier. con-
"tra Lucifer. cap. 6." (p. 142, D.
"Conveniat uniusquisque cor suum,
"et in omni via inveniet, quam
"rarum sit fidelem animam inveniri,
"et nihil ob glorie cupiditatem,
"nihil ob ramosculos hominum
"faciat, &c.") "and Genebrard. in
"Synb: Athanas. p. 306."]

BOOK II. thereby intend to deliver, as in truth he doth, a full instruction
 CH. VIII. 4. in all things unto salvation necessary, the knowledge whereof
 man by nature could not otherwise in this life attain unto:
 they are by this very mean induced either still to look for
 new revelations from heaven, or else dangerously to add
 to the word of God uncertain tradition, that so the doctrine
 of man's salvation may be complete; which doctrine, we con-
 stantly hold in all respects without any such thing added to
 be so complete, that we utterly refuse as much as once
 to acquaint ourselves with any thing further. Whatsoever to
 make up the doctrine of man's salvation is added, as in supply
 of the Scripture's unsufficiency, we reject it. Scripture pur-
 posing this, hath perfectly and fully done it.

Again the scope and purpose of God in delivering the
 Holy Scripture such as do take more largely than behoveth,
 they on the contrary side, racking and stretching it further
 than by him was meant, are drawn into sundry as great
 inconveniences. These pretending the Scripture's perfection
 infer thereupon, that in Scripture all things lawful to be done
 must needs be contained. We count those things perfect
 which want nothing requisite for the end whereto they were
 instituted. As therefore God created every part and partice
 of man exactly perfect, that is to say in all points sufficient
 unto that use for which he appointed it; so the Scripture,
 yea, every sentence thereof, is perfect, and wanteth nothing
 requisite unto that purpose for which God delivered the same.
 So that if hereupon we conclude, that because the Scripture
 is perfect, therefore all things lawful to be done are compre-
 hended in the Scripture; we may even as well conclude so
 of every sentence, as of the whole sum and body thereof,
 unless we first of all prove that it was the drift, scope, and
 purpose of Almighty God in Holy Scripture to comprise all
 things which man may practise.

[6.] But admit this, and mark, I beseech you, what would
 follow. God in delivering Scripture to his Church should
 cleave have abrogated amongst them the law of nature; which
 is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the minds of all the
 children of men, whereby both general principles for directing
 of human actions are comprehended, and conclusions derived
 from them; upon which conclusions groweth in particularity

the choice of good and evil in the daily affairs of this life. Admit this, and what shall the Scripture be but a snare and a torment to weak consciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, scrupulosities, doubts insoluble, and extreme despairs¹? Not that the Scripture itself doth cause any such thing, (for it tendeth to the clean contrary, and the fruit thereof is resolute assurance and certainty in that it teacheth,) but the necessities of this life urging men to do that which the light of nature, common discretion and judgment of itself directeth them unto; on the other side, this doctrine teaching them that so to do were to sin against their own souls, and that they put forth their hands to iniquity whatsoever they go about and have not first the sacred Scripture of God for direction; how can it choose but bring the simple a thousand times to their wits' end? how can it choose but vex and amaze them? For in every action of common life to find out some sentence clearly and infallibly setting before our eyes what we ought to do, (seem we in Scripture never so expert,) would trouble us more than we are aware. In weak and tender minds we little know what misery this strict opinion would breed, besides the stops it would make in the whole course of all men's lives and actions. Make all things sin which we do by direction of nature's light, and by the rule of common discretion, without thinking at all upon Scripture; admit this position, and parents shall cause their children to sin, as oft as they cause them to do any thing, before they come to years of capacity and be ripe for knowledge in the Scripture: admit this, and it shall not be with masters as it was with him in the Gospel, but servants being commanded to go² shall stand still, till they have their errand warranted unto them by Scripture. Which as it standeth with Christian duty in some cases, so in common affairs to require it were most unfit.

[7.] Two opinions therefore there are concerning sufficiency of Holy Scripture, each extremely opposite unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The schools of Rome teach

¹ "Where this doctrine is accused
"of bringing men to despair, it
"hath wrong. For when doubting
"is the way to despair, against
"which this doctrine offereth the

remedy, it must need be that it
"bringeth comfort and joy to the
"conscience of man." T. C. lib.
ii. p. 61.
² Luke vii. 8.

336 *Paritau and Remish Doctrine alike repugnant to Truth.*

BOOK II. Scripture to be so insufficient, as if, except traditions were
CH. VII. 7. added, it did not contain all revealed and supernatural truth,
which absolutely is necessary for the children of men in this
life to know that they may in the next be saved. Others
justly condemning this opinion grow likewise unto a danger-
ous extremity, as if Scripture did not only contain all things
in that kind necessary, but all things simply, and in such
sort that to do any thing according to any other law were not
only unnecessary but even opposite unto salvation, unlawful
and sinful. Whatsoever is spoken of God or things apper-
taining to God otherwise than as the truth is, though it seem
an honour it is an injury. And as incredible praises given
unto men do often abate and impair the credit of their de-
served commendation; so we must likewise take great heed,
lest in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the
incredibility of that do cause even those things which indeed
it hath most abundantly to be less reverently esteemed. I
therefore leave it to themselves to consider, whether they
have in this first point or not overshot themselves; which
God doth know is quickly done, even when our meaning
is most sincere, as I am verily persuaded theirs in this
case was.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CONCERNING THEIR SECOND ASSERTION, THAT IN SCRIPTURE THERE
MUST BE OF NECESSITY CONTAINED A FORM OF CHURCH POLITY,
THE LAWS WHEREOF MAY IN NOWISE BE ALTERED.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS THIRD BOOK.

- I. What the Church is, and in what respect Laws of Polity are thereunto necessarily required.
 - II. Whether it be necessary that some particular Form of Church Polity be set down in Scripture, sith the things that belong particularly to any such Form are not of necessity to Salvation.
 - III. That matters of Church Polity are different from matters of Faith and Salvation, and that they themselves so teach which are our reprovers for so teaching.
 - IV. That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing which thereunto with the soundness of truth may be given.
 - V. Their meaning who first urged against the Polity of the Church of England, that nothing ought to be established in the Church more than is commanded by the Word of God.
 - VI. How great injury men by so thinking should offer unto all the Churches of God.
 - VII. A shift notwithstanding to maintain it, by interpreting *commanded*, as though it were meant that greater things only ought to be found set down in Scripture particularly, and lesser framed by the general rules of Scripture.
 - VIII. Another device to defend the same, by expounding *commanded*, as if it did signify *grounded* on Scripture, and were opposed to things found out by light of natural reason only.
 - IX. How Laws for the Polity of the Church may be made by the advice of men, and how those Laws being not repugnant to the Word of God are approved in his sight.
 - X. That neither God's being the Author of Laws, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any reason sufficient to prove that they admit no addition or change.
 - XI. Whether Christ must needs intend Laws unchangeable altogether, or have forbidden any where to make any other Law than himself did deliver.
- VOL. I.

BOOK II. I. Ch. i. v. s. 1.
What the Church is, and in what respect Laws of Polity are thereunto necessarily required.

ALBEIT the substance of those controversies whereinto we have begun to wade be rather of outward things appertaining to the Church of Christ, than of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Church consisteth, yet because the subject or matter which this position concerneth is, *A Form of Church Government or Church Polity*, it therefore behoveth us so far forth to consider the nature of the Church, as is requisite for men's more clear and plain understanding in what respect Laws of Polity or Government are necessary thereunto.

[a.] That Church of Christ, which we properly term his body mystical, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth (albeit their natural persons be visible) we do not discern under this property, whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit are able to apprehend, that such a real body there is, a body collective, because it containeth an huge multitude; a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatsoever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and the saving mercy which God sheweth towards his Church, the only proper subject thereof is this Church. Concerning this flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promised, "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands¹." They who are of this society have such marks and notes of distinction from all others, as are not object unto our sense; only unto God, who seeth their hearts and understandeth all their secret cogitations, unto him they are clear and manifest. All men knew Nathanael to be an Israelite. But our Saviour piercing deeper giveth further testimony of him than men could have done with such certainty as he did, "Behold indeed an Israelite in whom is no guile²." If we profess, as Peter did³, that we love the Lord, and profess it in the hearing of men, charity is prone to believe all things, and therefore charitable men are likely to think we do so, as long as they see no proof to the contrary.

¹ John x. 28.² John i. 47.³ John xxi. 15.

BOOK III.
Ch. I. 8.
more the absence of inward belief of heart; so doth despair and lack of hope; so emptiness of Christian love and charity. But we speak now of the visible Church, whose children are signed with this mark, "One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism." In whomsoever these things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her children; them only she holdeth for aliens and strangers, in whom these things are not found. For want of these it is that Saracens, Jews, and Infidels are excluded out of the bounds of the Church. Others we may not deny to be of the visible Church, as long as these things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of necessity either Christians or not Christians. If by external profession they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ: and Christians by external profession they are all, whose mark of recognizance hath in it those things which we have mentioned, yea, although they be impious idolaters, wicked heretics, persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbity. Such withal we deny not to be the imps and limbs of Satan, even as long as they continue such.

[8.] Is it then possible, that the selfsame men should belong both to the synagogue of Satan and to the Church of Jesus Christ? Unto that Church which is his mystical body, not possible; because that body consisteth of none but only true Israelites, true sons of Abraham, true servants and saints of God. Howbeit of the visible body and Church of Jesus Christ those may be and oftentimes are, in respect of their main parts of their outward profession, who in regard of their inward disposition of mind, yea, of external conversation, yea, even of some parts of their very profession, are most worthily both hateful in the sight of God himself, and in the eyes of the sounder parts of the visible Church most execrable. Our Saviour therefore compareth the kingdom of

"Causam nesciunt: ignorantes
"anim Deum, et statim ab exordio
"justitie declinantes, consequenti
"in caetera feruntur erroes. Sic
"Et postea, ut studiorum talium
"fatis sit variatas. Siqui apud illos
"honestiora definiunt, huic jactan-
"tiae deserviant, huic laborant: ita
"apud eos non est vacua vitia ab-

"stinentia vitiorum." Epist. ad
Valerian. in Bibl. Patr. Colon. 1618.
t. iv. p. 777.
And again, *ibid.*: "Morall
"workes done in faith, hope and
"charitie are accepted and rewarded
"with God, the wast thereof pun-
"ished with eternal death. Noe
"fornicator, adulterer, &c.]"

heaven to a net, whereunto all which cometh neither is nor seemeth fish¹: his Church he compareth unto a field, where tares manifestly known and seen by all men do grow intermingled with good corn², and even so shall continue till the final consummation of the world. God hath had ever and ever shall have some Church visible upon earth. When the people of God worshipped the calf in the wilderness³; when they adored the brazen serpent⁴; when they served the gods of nations; when they bowed their knees to Baal⁵; when they burnt incense and offered sacrifice unto idols⁶: true it is, the wrath of God was most fiercely inflamed against them, their prophets justly condemned them, as an adulterous seed⁷ and a wicked generation of miscreants, which had forsaken the living God⁸, and of him were likewise forsaken⁹, in respect of that singular mercy wherewith he kindly and lovingly embraceth his faithful children. Howbeit retaining the law of God and the holy seal of his covenant, the sheep of his visible flock they continued even in the depth of their disobedience and rebellion¹⁰. Wherefore not only amongst them God always had his Church, because he had thousands which never bowed their knees to Baal¹¹; but whose knees were bowed unto Baal, even they were also of the visible Church of God. Nor did the Prophet so complain, as if that Church had been quite and clean extinguished; but he took it as though there had not been remaining in the world any besides himself, that carried a true and an upright heart towards God with care to serve him according unto his holy will.

[9.] For lack of diligent observing the difference, first between the Church of God mystical and visible, then between the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes less, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed. This deceiveth them, and nothing else, who think that in the time of the first world the family of Noah did contain all that were of the visible Church of God.

¹ Matt. xiii. 47.

² Matt. xiii. 24.

³ Exod. xxxii; Ps. cvi. 19, 20.

⁴ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

⁵ Jer. xv. 13.

⁶ 2 Kings xxii. 17.

⁷ Isa. lvii. 5.

⁸ Isa. i. 4.

⁹ Isa. lx. 15.

¹⁰ Jer. xiii. 11.

¹¹ 1 Kings xix. 18.

BOOK III. From hence it grew, and from no other cause in the world, that the African bishops in the council of Carthage¹, knowing how the administration of baptism belongeth only to the Church of Christ, and supposing that heretics which were apparently severed from the sound believing Church could not possibly be of the Church of Jesus Christ, thought it utterly against reason, that baptism administered by men of corrupt belief should be accounted as a sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of rebaptization their arguments are built upon the fore-alleged ground², "That heretics are not at all any part of the Church of Christ. Our Saviour founded his Church on a rock, and not upon heresy³. Power of baptizing he gave to his Apostles, unto heretics he gave it not⁴. Wherefore they that are without the Church, and oppose themselves against Christ, do but scatter His sheep and flock, without the Church baptize they cannot." Again, "Are heretics Christians or are they not? If they be Christians, wherefore remain they not in God's Church? If they be no Christians, how make they Christians? Or to what purpose shall those words of the Lord serve: 'He which is not with me is against me;' and, 'He which gathereth not with me scattereth⁵?' Wherefore evident it is, that upon misbegotten children and the brood of Antichrist without rebaptization the Holy Ghost cannot descend⁶." But none in this case so earnest as Cyprian: "I know no baptism but one, and that in the

¹ [A. D. 256.]
² Fortunat. in Concil. Car. "Christianos facient? aut quo [e] Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus pertinebit sermo Domini dicens, 'noster, Dei Patris et Creatoris' Qui non est mecum adversus me"
³ Filius, super petram edificavit "est, et qui non mecum colligit
⁴ Ecclesiam suam, non super hereticos? Unde constat, super filios
⁵ res; et potestatem baptizandi "alienos et soboles Antichristi Spiritum Sanctum per manus impositionem tantummodo non posse
⁶ Episcopis dedit, non hereticis. "descendere."
 "Quare qui extra Ecclesiam sunt, et contra Christum stantes oves ejus et gregem spargunt, baptizare foris non possum." l. i. 233. ed. Fell.
⁷ [Not Cyprian, but another Caelinus, Bishop of Billa in Mauritania, ibid. 230: "Ego unum baptismum in Ecclesia sola scio, et extra Ecclesiam nullum. Hic erit unum, ubi spes vera est et fides certa. Sic enim scriptum est: 'Una fides, una spes, unum baptismum, non apud hereticos, ubi spes nulla est, et fides falsa, ubi

"Church only; none without the Church, where he that
 "doth cast out the devil hath the devil: he doth examine
 "about belief whose lips and words do breathe forth a canker;
 "the faithless doth offer the articles of faith; a wicked
 "creature forgiveth wickedness; in the name of Christ
 "Antichrist signeth; he which is cursed of God blesseth;
 "a dead carrion promiseth life; a man unpeaceable giveth
 "peace; a blasphemers calleth upon the name of God; a
 "profane person doth exercise priesthood; a sacrilegious
 "wretch doth prepare the altar; and in the neck of all
 "these that evil also cometh, the Eucharist a very bishop of
 "the devil doth presume to consecrate." All this was true,
 but not sufficient to prove that heretics were in no sort any
 part of the visible church of Christ, and consequently their
 baptism no baptism. This opinion therefore was afterwards
 both condemned by a better advised council¹, and also
 revoked by the chiefest of the authors thereof themselves.

[10.] What is it but only the selfsame error and misconceit,

¹ omnia per mendaciam aguntur, appealed to for the practice of the
² ubi exorcizati demonesiaci; sacra- orthodox church in that age, *ibid.*
³ mentum interrogat cujus os et 379, 450. The passage from St.
⁴ verba cancer emittunt; idem dat Jerome is as follows: "Conatus est
⁵ infidelis; veniam delictorum tri- "beatus Cyprianus contritus lacus
⁶ buit sceleratus; in nomine Christi "fugere, nec libere de aqua aliena;
⁷ dixit Antichristus; benedixit a "et aliter hereticorum baptisma
⁸ Deo maledictus; vitam pollicetur "reprobans, ad Stephanum tunc
⁹ mortuus; pacem dat impacificus; "Romane urbis Episcopum, qui a
¹⁰ Deum invocat blasphemus; sa- "beato Petro viginti sexus fuit,
¹¹ credentium administrat prophanus; "super hac re Africanam synodum
¹² possit altare sacrilegus. Ad hæc "dixit: sed conatus ejus frustra
¹³ omnia accedit et aliud malum, ut "fuit. Denique illi ipsi episcopi, qui
¹⁴ antistes Diaboli audiant Eucha- "rebaptizandos hereticos cum eo
¹⁵ ristiam facere." "steterant, ad antiquam consuetu-
¹⁶ In Concilio Niceno. Vide "dinam revoluti, novum eminare
¹⁷ Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer. [l. 146. "decretum." (But see the viiith
 The genuine canons of the council canon of the council of Arles, (A. D.
 of Nice contain no express general 314) as quoted by Dr. Routh, Re-
 enactment on this point; only the liquis Sacre, III. 137, and his note
 8th canon exempts the Novatians there, which seems to prove that
 from rebaptization, the 19th imposes St. Jerome did not mean a formal
 it on the followers of Paul of Sa- repeal of St. Cyprian's rule, but a
 mosata. The principle however, for discontinuance of it in practice,
 which Hooker contends is plainly sanctioned as we know by St.
 implied in these two enactments. Augustin, who was Jerome's con-
 See Routh, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasti- temporary.*) And p. 147. A. "Sym-
 corum Opuscula, p. 379, 456. The "odus quoque Nicæna. . . . omnes
 7th canon of Constantinople is more "hereticos suscepit, exceptis Pauli
 express: but its genuineness is "Samosateni discipulis.")

BOOK III. wherewith others being at this day likewise possessed, they
 Ch. I. 10. ask us where our Church did lurk, in what cave of the earth
 it slept for so many hundreds of years together before the
 birth of Martin Luther? As if we were of opinion that
 Luther did erect a New Church of Christ. No, the Church
 of Christ which was from the beginning is and continueth
 unto the end: of which Church all parts have not been
 always equally sincere and sound. In the days of Abia it
 plainly appeareth that Judah was by many degrees more free
 from pollution than Israel, as that solemn oration sheweth
 wherein he pleadeth for the one against the other in this
 wise¹: "O Jeroboam and all Israel hear you me: have ye
 "not driven away the priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron
 "and the Levites, and have made you priests like the people
 "of nations? Whosoever cometh to consecrate with a young
 "bullock and seven rams, the same may be a priest of them
 "that are no gods. But we belong unto the Lord our God,
 "and have not forsaken him; and the priests the sons of
 "Aaron minister unto the Lord every morning and every
 "evening burnt-offerings and sweet incense, and the bread is
 "set in order upon the pure table, and the candlestick of gold
 "with the lamps thereof to burn every evening; for we keep
 "the watch of the Lord our God, but ye have forsaken him."²
 In St. Paul's time the integrity of Rome was famous; Corinth
 many ways reprov'd; they of Galatia much more out of
 square³. In St. John's time Ephesus and Smyrna in far
 better state than Thyatira and Pergamus were⁴. We hope
 therefore that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done
 amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of

¹ 2 Chron. xlii. 4. 9. 10. 11. "here conatur . . . Plurimi (hære-
² [See the conclusion of Hooker's "ticorum) vivente adhuc (Joanne
 first sermon on part of St. Jude.] Apostolo eruperant . . . Angelo
³ [Rom. i. 8; 1 Cor. i. iii-vi; "Ephesi deserta charitas impu-
 Gal. i. 6.] "tur: in angulo Pergamense Ec-
⁴ Apoc. ii. Vide S. Hieron. [ubi "clesiæ, idolothorum esus, et
 sup. 146. "Apostolis adhuc in sæ- "Nicolaitarum doctrina reprehen-
 "culo superstitionibus, adhuc apud "ditur: item apud angelum Thyati-
 "Judæam Christi sanguine recens, "rorum, Hizebel Prophetissa, et
 "phantasma Domini corpus asserere- "simulacrorum esus, et fornicati-
 "batur: Galatas ad observationem "ones increpantur. Et tamen con-
 "junctis traductos Apostolos iterum "ses hos ad penitentiam Domi-
 "paravit: Corinthios resurrec- "nas hortatur . . . non autem cogeret
 "torem carnis non crebretas pluri- "penitere, si non esset penitenti-
 "bus argumentis ad verum iter tra- "bus viam concessurus."]

before. In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other BOOK III.
 difference between our estate before and now we know none Ch. I. 24.
 but only such as we see in Juda; which having sometime
 been idolatrous became afterwards more soundly religious by
 renouncing idolatry and superstition. If Ephraim "be joined
 "unto idols," the counsel of the Prophet is, "Let him alone."
 "If Israel play the harlot, let not Juda sin¹." "If it seem
 "evil unto you," saith Josua², "to serve the Lord, choose
 "you this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods whom
 "your fathers served beyond the flood, or the gods of the
 "Amorites in whose land ye dwell: but I and mine house
 "will serve the Lord." The indisposition therefore of the
 Church of Rome to reform herself must be no stay unto us
 from performing our duty to God; even as desire of retaining
 conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not per-
 form that duty.

Notwithstanding so far as lawfully we may, we have held
 and do hold fellowship with them. For even as the Apostle
 doth say of Israel that they are in one respect enemies but in
 another beloved of God³; in like sort with Rome we dare
 not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous
 abominations, yet touching those main parts of Christian truth
 wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge
 them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty
 prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined so far
 forth with them, they may at the length (if it be his will) so
 yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction
 remain in any thing, but that we "all may with one heart
 "and one mouth glorify God the Father of our Lord and
 "Saviour⁴;" whose Church we are.

As there are which make the Church of Rome utterly no
 Church at all, by reason of so many, so grievous errors in their
 doctrines; so we have them amongst us, who under pretence
 of imagined corruptions in our discipline do give even as hard
 a judgment of the Church of England itself⁵.

[11.] But whatsoever either the one sort or the other teach,
 we must acknowledge even heretics themselves to be, though
 a maimed part, yet a part of the visible Church. If an infidel

¹ Hos. iv. 17, 15. ² Josh. xxiv. 15. ³ Rom. xi. 28. ⁴ Rom. xv. 6.
⁵ [See Pref. c. viii. 1.]

BOOK III should pursue to death an heretic professing Christianity, only for Christian profession's sake, could we deny unto him the honour of martyrdom? Yet this honour all men know to be proper unto the Church. Heretics therefore are not utterly cut off from the visible Church of Christ.

If the Fathers do any where, as oftentimes they do, make the true visible Church of Christ and heretical companies opposite; they are to be construed as separating heretics, not altogether from the company of believers, but from the fellowship of sound believers. For where professed unbelief is, there can be no visible Church of Christ; there may be, where sound belief wanteth. Infidels being clean without the Church deny directly and utterly reject the very principles of Christianity; which heretics embrace, and err only by misconstruction: whereupon their opinions, although repugnant indeed to the principles of Christian faith, are notwithstanding by them held otherwise, and maintained as most consonant thereunto. Wherefore being Christians in regard of the general truth of Christ which they openly profess, yet they are by the Fathers every where spoken of as men clean excluded out of the right believing Church, by reason of their particular errors, for which all that are of a sound belief must needs condemn them.

[12.] In this consideration, the answer of Calvin unto Farel concerning the children of Popish parents doth seem crazed.¹ "Whereas," saith he, "you ask our judgment about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongst you, whether ministers of our order professing the pure doctrine of the Gospel may lawfully admit unto baptism an infant whose father is a stranger unto our Churches, and whose mother hath fallen from us unto the Papacy, so that both the parents are popish: thus we have thought good to answer; namely, that it is an absurd thing for us to baptize them which cannot be reckoned members of our body. And sith Papists'

¹ Calvin, Epist. 149. [p. 173. ed. Genes. 1547. "Regas, licetne ordinis nostri ministri, qui puram evangelii doctrinam profitentur, ad baptismum admittre infantem, cujus pater ab ecclesia nostra alienus est, mater vero ad Papatum deficit, ita ut parentes ambo sint

"Papiste: ita respondendum censuimus; absurdum esse ut eos baptizemus, qui corporis nostri membra censeri nequeunt. Quomodo in hoc ordine sint Papistarum liberi, quomodo baptismum illis administrare liceat, non videmus."]

"children are such, we see not how it should be lawful to minister baptism unto them." Sounder a great deal is the answer of the ecclesiastical college of Geneva unto Knox, who having signified unto them, that himself did not think it lawful to baptize bastards or the children of idolaters (he meant Papists) or of persons excommunicate, till either the parents had by repentance submitted themselves unto the Church, or else their children being grown unto the years of understanding should come and sue for their own baptism: "For thus "thinking," saith he, "I am thought to be over-severe, and "that not only by them which are popish, but even in their "judgments also who think themselves maintainers of the "truth". Master Knox's oversight herein they controlled. Their sentence was, "Wheresoever the profession of Christianity hath not utterly perished and been extinct, infants "are beguiled of their right, if the common seal be denied "them". Which conclusion in itself is sound, although it seemeth the ground is but weak whereupon they built it. For the reason which they yield of their sentence, is this: "The "promise which God doth make to the faithful concerning "their seed reacheth unto a thousand generations; it resteth "not only in the first degree of descent. Infants therefore "whose great-grandfathers have been holy and godly, do in "that respect belong to the body of the church, although the "fathers and grandfathers of whom they descend have been "apostates": because the tenure of the grace of God which "did adopt them three hundred years ago or more in their "ancient predecessor, cannot with justice be defeated and "broken off by their parents' impiety coming between".

¹ Epist. 283. [Ibid. p. 441. "An ad baptismum admitti debeant spurii, idololatrarum et excommunicatorum filii, priusquam vel parentes per resipiscenciam sese subdiderint Ecclesie, vel si qui ex huiusmodi prognati sunt, baptismum petere possint. Quia neges, plus aequo severus iudicor, non a solis Papisticis, verum etiam ab his qui ubi veritatis patroni videntur."] ² Epist. 285. [Ibid. p. 442. "Ubiacunque non proventus intercidit, vel extincta fuit Christianismi professio, fraudantur jure suo infantes, si a communi symbolo arceantur."] ³ ["Apostates," A.—changed to "Apostates" in Spenser's ed. 1604, and subsequent ones.] 1886. ⁴ Calc. ubi supra. "Imprimis expendere convenit, quos Deus sua voce ad baptismum invocat. Promissio autem non sobolem tantum cujusque fidelium in primo gradu comprehendit, sed in mille generationes extenditur.... Nobis ergo minime dubium est, quin soboles ex piis et sanctis

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Ch. 1. 13
By which reason of theirs although it seem that all the world may be baptized, inasmuch as no man living is a thousand descents removed from Adam himself, yet we mean not at this time either to uphold or to overthrow it: only their alleged conclusion we embrace, so it be construed in this sort; "That forasmuch as men remain in the visible Church, till they utterly renounce the profession of Christianity, we may not deny unto infants their right by withholding from them the public sign of holy baptism, if they be born where the outward acknowledgment of Christianity is not clean gone and extinguished." For being in such sort born, their parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth give them interest and right in baptism.

[13.] Albeit not every error and fault, yet heresies and crimes which are not actually repented of and forsaken, exclude quite and clean from that salvation which belongeth unto the mystical body of Christ; yea, they also make a separation from the visible sound Church of Christ; altogether from the visible Church neither the one nor the other doth sever. As for the act of excommunication, it neither shutteth out from the mystical, nor clean from the visible, but only from fellowship with the visible in holy duties. With what congruity then doth the Church of Rome deny, that her enemies, whom she holdeth always for heretics, do at all appertain to the Church of Christ; when her own do freely grant, that albeit the Pope (as they say) cannot teach heresy nor propound error, he may notwithstanding himself worship idols, think amiss concerning matters of faith, yea, give himself unto acts diabolical, even being Pope? How exclude they us from being any part of the Church of Christ under the colour and pretence of heresy, when they cannot but grant it possible even for him to be as touching his own personal persuasion

¹ *atavis progenita, quamvis apostata fuerint avi et parentes, ad Ecclesiam tamen corpus pertinent . . .* [Harding ap. Jewel. Def. of Apol. 632. ed. 1611. "The Pope may err by personed error, in his own private judgment, as a man;"]
² *Quia iniquum est, cum Deus ante annos trecentos vel plures adoptivose sua eos dignatus fuerit, ut quae deinde secuta est parentum impietas caelestis gratiae cursum abrumperet.* The former letter was dated 1553, this 1559.
³ "and as a particular Doctor in his own opinion; yet as he is Pope . . . in public judgment, in deliberation, and definitive sentence, he never erreth nor ever erreth."]

heretical¹, who in their opinion not only is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefest place of authority over the same? But of these things we are not now to dispute. That which already we have set down, is for our present purpose sufficient.

[14.] By the Church therefore in this question we understand no other than only the visible Church. For preservation of Christianity there is not any thing more needful, than that such as are of the visible Church have mutual fellowship and society one with another. In which consideration, as the main body of the sea being one, yet within divers precincts hath divers names; so the Catholic Church is in like sort divided into a number of distinct Societies, every of which is termed a Church within itself. In this sense the Church is always a visible society of men; not an assembly, but a society. For although the name of the Church be given unto Christian assemblies, although any multitude of Christian men congregated may be termed by the name of a Church, yet assemblies properly are rather things that belong to a Church. Men are assembled for performance of public actions; which actions being ended, the assembly dissolveth itself and is no longer in being, whereas the Church which was assembled doth no less continue afterwards than before. "Where but three are, and they of the laity also (saith Tertullian), yet there is a Church²;" that is to say, a Christian assembly. But a Church, as now we are to understand it, is a Society; that is, a number of men belonging unto some Christian fellowship, the place and limits whereof are certain. That wherein they have communion is the public exercise of such duties as those mentioned in the Apostles' Acts, *Instruction, Breaking of Bread, and Prayers*³. As therefore they that are of the mystical body of Christ have those inward graces and virtues,

¹ [Alphonſus de Castro, a Spanish Franciscan, who came with Philip II. to England † 1558, "un des plus célèbres théologiens espagnols du siècle" (Hist. Univ. II - great work, *adv. omnes hæreses*, was printed ten times in 26 years) de Hæres. l. 4. ap. Jewel. 633. "Non dubitamus an hæreticum esse, et Papam esse, coire in unum possint. . . . Non enim credo aliquem esse adeo

"impudentem Papæ assentatorem, ut ei tribuere hoc velit, ut nec II. to England † 1558, "un des plus célèbres théologiens espagnols du siècle" (Hist. Univ. II - great work, *adv. omnes hæreses*, was printed ten times in 26 years) de Hæres. l. 4. ap. Jewel. 633. "Non dubitamus an hæreticum esse, et Papam esse, coire in unum possint. . . . Non enim credo aliquem esse adeo

BOOK III. CH. II. whereby they differ from all others, which are not of the same body; again, whosoever appertain to the visible body of the Church, they have also the notes of external profession, whereby the world knoweth what they are: after the same manner even the several societies of Christian men, unto every of which the name of a Church is given with addition betokening severally, as the Church of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, England, and so the rest, must be endued with correspondent general properties belonging unto them as they are public Christian societies. And of such properties common unto all societies Christian, it may not be denied that one of the very chiefest is Ecclesiastical Polity.

Which word I therefore the rather use, because the name of Government, as commonly men understand it in ordinary speech, doth not comprise the largeness of that whereunto in this question it is applied. For when we speak of Government, what doth the greatest part conceive thereby, but only the exercise of superiority peculiar unto rulers and guides of others? To our purpose therefore the name of Church-Polity will better serve, because it containeth both government and also whatsoever besides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in public. Neither is any thing in this degree more necessary than Church-Polity, which is a form of ordering the public spiritual affairs of the Church of God.

II. But we must note, that he which affirmeth speech to be necessary amongst all men throughout the world, doth not thereby import that all men must necessarily speak one kind of language. Even so the necessity of polity and regiment in all Churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all. Nor is it possible that any form of polity, much less of polity ecclesiastical, should be good, unless God himself be author of it¹. "Those things that are not of God" (saith Tertullian), "they can have no other than God's adversary for their author." Be it whatsoever in the Church of God, if it be not of God, we hate it. Of God it must be; either as those things sometime were, which God supernaturally revealed, and so delivered them unto Moses for government of the commonwealth of Israel; or else as those things which men find

¹ Tertull. de habitu mul. [c. 8.] "Æmuli sint necesse est, que Dei non sum."

out by help of that light which God hath given them unto that end¹. The very Law of Nature itself, which no man can deny but God hath instituted, is not of God, unless that be of God, whereof God is the author as well this later way as the former. But forasmuch as no form of Church-Polity is thought by them to be lawful, or to be of God, unless God be so the author of it that it be also set down in Scripture; they should tell us plainly, whether their meaning be that it must be there set down in whole or in part. For if wholly, let them shew what one form of Polity ever was so. Their own to be so taken out of Scripture they will not affirm; neither deny they that in part even this which they so much oppugn is also from thence taken. Again they should tell us, whether only that be taken out of Scripture which is actually and particularly there set down; or else that also which the general principles and rules of Scripture potentially contain. The one way they cannot as much as pretend, that all the parts of their own discipline are in Scripture: and the other way their mouths are stopped, when they would plead against all other forms besides their own; seeing the general principles are such as do not particularly prescribe any one, but sundry may equally be consonant unto the general axioms of the Scripture.

[2.] But to give them some larger scope and not to close them up in these straits: let their allegations be considered, wherewith they earnestly bend themselves against all which deny it necessary that any one complete form of Church-Polity should be in Scripture. First therefore whereas it hath been told them² that matters of faith, and in general matters necessary unto salvation, are of a different nature from ceremonies, order, and the kind of church government; and that the one is necessary to be expressly contained in the word of God, or else manifestly collected out of the same, the other not so; that it is necessary not to receive the one, unless there be something in Scripture for them; the other free, if nothing against them may thence be alleged; although there do not appear any just or reasonable cause to reject

¹ Rom. ii. 15. "Illa legis hujus" [In Whiggitt's Answer to the "investor, disceptator, labor." Cic. Admon. 20, 21. See Defence 76, iii. de Repub. Pap. Lact. vi. 8. and &c.]
Opp. vii. 96. Ed. Ernesti.]
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BOOK III. or dislike of this, nevertheless as it is not easy to speak to
 Ch. 3. a contentation of minds exulcerated in themselves, but
 that somewhat there will be always which displeaseth; so
 herein for two things we are reproved. ¹The first is *mis-*
distinguishing, because matters of discipline and church govern-
 ment are (as they say) "matters necessary to salvation and of
 "faith," whereas we put a difference between the one and the
 other. Our second fault is, *injurious dealing* with the Scripture
 of God, as if it contained only "the principal points of religion,
 "some rude and unfashioned matter of building the Church,
 "but had left out that which belongeth unto the form and
 "fashion of it; as if there were in the Scripture no more than
 "only to cover the Church's nakedness, and not chains,
 "bracelets, rings, jewels, to adorn her; sufficient to quench her
 "thirst, to kill her hunger, but not to minister a more liberal,
 "and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty diet." In which
 case² our apology shall not need to be very long.

¹ Two things mistaked; the one that we distinguish matters of discipline or church government from matters of faith and necessary unto salvation: the other, that we are injurious to the Scripture of God in abridging the large and rich contents thereof. Their words are these: "You which distinguish "between these, and say, that mat- "ters of faith and necessary unto "salvation may not be tolerated in "the Church, unless they be ex- "pressly contained in the word of "God, or manifestly gathered; but "that ceremonies, order, discipline, "government in the Church, may "not be received against the word "of God, and consequently may be "received if there be no word "against them, although there be "none for them: you [I say] dis- "tinguishing or dividing after this "sort do prove yourself an evil "divider. As though matters of "discipline and kind of government "were not matters necessary to sal- "vation and of faith." [This sen- "tence ("as though...of faith") is transposed by Hooker to this place, from where it occurs in T. C. a few lines above.] "It is no small "injury which you do unto the "word of God to pin it in so narrow "room, as that it should be able to "direct us but in the principal points "of our religion; or as though the "substance of religion, or some rude "and unfashioned matter of build- "ing of the Church were uttered in "them; and those things were left "out that should pertain to the form "and fashion of it; or as if there "were in the Scriptures only to "cover the Church's nakedness, and "not also chains and bracelets and "rings and other jewels to adorn "her and set her out; or that, to "conclude, there were sufficient to "quench her thirst and kill her "hunger, but not to minister unto "her a more liberal and (as it were) "a more delicious and dainty diet. "These things you seem to say, "when you say, that matters neces- "sary to salvation and of Faith are "contained in Scripture: especially "when you oppose these things to "Ceremonies, Order, Discipline, "and Government." T. C. ib. l. p. 26 [14]

² [cause?]

III. The mixture of those things by speech which by nature are divided, is the mother of all error. To take away therefore that error which confusion breedeth, distinction is requisite. Rightly to distinguish is by conceit of mind to sever things different in nature, and to discern wherein they differ. So that if we imagine a difference where there is none, because we distinguish where we should not, it may not be denied that we misdistinguish. The only trial whether we do so, yea or no, dependeth upon comparison between our conceit and the nature of things conceived.

[2.] Touching matters belonging unto the Church of Christ this we conceive, that they are not of one suit. Some things are *merely* of faith, which things it doth suffice that we know and believe; some things not only to be known but done, because they concern the actions of men. Articles about the Trinity are matters of *mere* faith, and must be believed. Precepts concerning the works of charity are matters of action; which to know, unless they be practised, is not enough. This being so clear to all men's understanding, I somewhat marvel that they especially should think it absurd to oppose Church-government, a plain matter of action, unto matters of faith, who know that themselves divide the Gospel into Doctrine and Discipline¹. For if matters of discipline be rightly by them distinguished from matters of doctrine, why not matters of government by us as reasonably set against matters of faith? Do not they under doctrine comprehend the same which we intend by matter of faith? Do not they under discipline comprise the regiment of the Church? When they blame that in us which themselves follow, they give men great cause to doubt that some other thing than judgment doth guide their speech.

[3.] What the Church of God standeth bound to know or do, the same in part nature teacheth. And because nature can teach them but only in part, neither so fully as is requisite for man's salvation, nor so easily as to make the way plain and expedite enough that many may come to the knowledge

¹ T. C. l. ii. p. 1. "We offer Discipline be one part of the Gospel, to shew the Discipline to be a what other part can they assign but part of the Gospel." And again, Doctrine to answer in division to p. 1. "I speak of the Discipline as the Discipline? [See also ib. l. of a part of the Gospel." If the p. 32.]

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CH. III.

of it, and so be saved; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the most necessary things that the school of nature teacheth unto that end, and revealeth also whatsoever we neither could with safety be ignorant of, nor at all be instructed in but by supernatural revelation from him. So that Scripture containing all things that are in this kind any way needful for the Church, and the principal of the other sort, this is the next thing wherewith we are charged as with an error: we teach that whatsoever is unto salvation termed *necessary* by way of excellency, whatsoever it standeth all men upon to know or do that they may be saved, whatsoever there is whereof it may truly be said, "This not to believe is eternal death and damnation," or, "This every soul that will live must duly observe;" of which sort the articles of Christian faith and the sacraments of the Church of Christ are: all such things if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God should not be able to measure out the length and the breadth of that way wherein for ever she is to walk, heretics and schismatics never ceasing some to abridge, some to enlarge, all to pervert and obscure the same. But as for those things that are accessory hereunto, those things that so belong to the way of salvation, as to alter them is no otherwise to change that way, than a path is changed by altering only the uppermost face thereof; which be it laid with gravel, or set with grass, or paved with stone, remaineth still the same path; in such things because discretion may teach the Church what is convenient, we hold not the Church further tied herein unto Scripture, than that against Scripture nothing be admitted in the Church, lest that path which ought always to be kept even, do thereby come to be overgrown with brambles and thorns.

[4] If this be unsound, wherein doth the point of unsoundness lie? It is not that we make some things *necessary*, some things *accessory* and appendent only: for our Lord and Saviour himself doth make that difference, by terming judgment and mercy and fidelity with other things of like nature, "the greater and weightier matters of the law¹." Is it then in that we account ceremonies, (wherein we do not comprise sacraments, or any other the like substantial duties in the

¹ Matt. xxiii. 23.

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exercise of religion, but only such external rites as are usually annexed unto Church actions,) is it an oversight that we reckon these things and matters¹ of government in the number of things accessory, not things necessary in such sort as hath been declared? Let them which therefore think us blameable consider well their own words. Do they not plainly compare the one unto garments which cover the body of the Church; the other unto rings, bracelets, and jewels, that only adorn it; the one to that food which the Church doth live by, the other to that which maketh her diet liberal, "dainty," and more "delicious"²? Is dainty fare a thing necessary to the sustenance, or to the clothing of the body rich attire? If not, how can they urge the necessity of that which themselves resemble by things not necessary? or by what construction shall any man living be able to make those comparisons true, holding that distinction untrue, which putteth a difference between things of external regiment in the Church and things necessary unto salvation?

IV. Now as it can be to nature no injury that of her we say the same which diligent beholders of her works have observed; namely, that she provideth for all living creatures nourishment which may suffice; that she bringeth forth no kind of creature whereto she is wanting in that which is needful³; although we do not so far magnify her exceeding bounty as to affirm that she bringeth into the world the sons of men.

¹ The government of the Church of Christ granted by Fenner himself to be thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the substance of religion. Against D. Bridges, pag. 121; if it be Fenner which was the author of that book. ["A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline" endorsed of God to be used in His Church, against a Reply of Maister Bridges to a briefe and plain Declaration of it, which was printed an. 1584. 4°. 1588, p. 120, 121. "Our Saviour is sayde with charge and commaundement that they should be observed, to have delivered to His Disciples such things, as for the space of fourtie days He declared unto them concerning his kingdome." "A part wherof is hisse bin

"alreadie shewed) must needs be understood to have bin of the government of His Church, "which necessarie dependeth on His kingdome."]

² "Mirum videtur debet . . . doctrina evangelica tanquam bona valetudine contentos, de disciplina, = qua eandem suscipi, ac vires simul et colorem acquirant, non esse solictos." Eccl. Disc. fol. 2. = Medicis contentis, qui salutem procurassent, aliptas ad colorem = et vires acquirendas non adhibuit." fol. 3.]

³ Arist. Pol. lib. i. cap. 8. et Plato in Meneo. [l. ii. 237. E. ed. Serran. =*αία οὐκ ἔστι τινα τῶνδ' ἔχει ἐπιεικέως ἀεὶ ἢ ἄλλο.*] Arist. lib. iii. de Animal. c. 4. 3.

BOOK III.
CH. IV.
—

That we do not take from Scripture any thing which may be thereunto given, withoutness of truth.

BOOK III. adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh costly buildings
Ch. II. to spring up out of the earth for them: so I trust that to
mention what the Scripture of God leaveth unto the Church's
discretion in some things, is not in any thing to impair the
honour which the Church of God yieldeth to the sacred
Scripture's perfection. Wherein seeing that no more is by
us maintained, than only that Scripture must needs teach the
Church whatsoever is in such sort necessary as hath been set
down; and that it is no more disgrace for Scripture to have
left a number of other things free to be ordered at the
discretion of the Church, than for nature to have left it unto
the wit of man to devise his own attire, and not to look for
it as the beasts of the field have theirs: if neither this can
import, nor any other proof sufficient be brought forth, that
we either will at any time or ever did affirm the sacred
Scripture to comprehend no more than only those bare
necessaries; if we acknowledge that as well for particular
application to special occasions, as also in other manifold
respects, infinite treasures of wisdom are over and besides
abundantly to be found in the Holy Scripture; yea, that
scarcely there is any noble part of knowledge, worthy the
mind of man, but from thence it may have some direction and
light; yea, that although there be no necessity it should of
purpose prescribe any one particular form of church govern-
ment, yet touching the manner of governing in general the
precepts that Scripture setteth down are not few, and the
examples many which it proposeth for all church governors
even in particularities to follow; yea, that those things finally
which are of principal weight in the very particular form of
church polity (although not that form which they imagine,
but that which we against them uphold) are in the selfsame
Scriptures contained: if all this be willingly granted by us
which are accused "to pin the word of God in so narrow room,
"as that it should be able to direct us but in principal points of
"our religion; or as though the substance of religion or some
"rude and unfashioned matter of building the Church were
"uttered in them, and those things left out that should pertain
"to the form and fashion of it;" let the cause of the accused
be referred to the accusers' own conscience, and let that judge
whether this accusation be deserved where it hath been laid.

V. But so easy it is for every man living to err, and BOOK III
 so hard to wrest from any man's mouth the plain acknow-
 ledgment of error, that what hath been once inconsiderately
 defended, the same is commonly persisted in, as long as wit
 by whetting itself is able to find out any shift, be it never
 so slight, whereby to escape out of the hands of present
 contradiction. So that it cometh herein to pass with men
 unadvisedly fallen into error, as with them whose state hath
 no ground to uphold it, but only the help which by subtle
 conveyance they draw out of casual events arising from day
 to day, till at length they be clean spent. They which first
 gave out, that "nothing ought to be established in the
 Church which is not commanded by the word of God,"
 thought this principle plainly warranted by the manifest
 words of the Law, "Ye shall put nothing unto the word
 which I command you, neither shall you take aught there-
 from, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord
 your God, which I command you." Wherefore having an
 eye to a number of rites and orders in the Church of Eng-
 land, as marrying with a ring, crossing in the one sacrament,
 kneeling at the other, observing of festival days more than
 only that which is called the Lord's day, enjoining abstinence
 at certain times from some kinds of meat, churching of
 women after childbirth, degrees taken by divines in universi-
 ties, sundry church offices, dignities, and callings, for which
 they found no commandment in the Holy Scripture, they
 thought by the one only stroke of that axiom to have cut
 them off. But that which they took for an oracle being
 sifted was repelled. True it is concerning the word of God,
 whether it be by misconstruction of the sense or by falsifica-
 tion of the words, wittingly to endeavour that any thing may
 seem divine which is not, or any thing not seem which is, were
 plainly to abuse, and even to falsify divine evidence; which
 injury offered but unto men, is most worthily counted heinous.
 Which point I wish they did well observe, with whom nothing
 is more familiar than to plead in these causes, "the law of
 God;" "the word of the Lord;" who notwithstanding when
¹ "Whatever I command you, and ii. 32. [Adm. p. 3. See also
 "take heed you do it. Thou shalt. Answ. 15. 60. 61. T. C. i. 21, 22.
 "put nothing thereto, nor take Eccl. Disc. fol. 4.]
 "aught therefrom." Deut. ii. 2.

BOOK III
Ch. 6. 1.
they come to allege what word and what law they mean, their common ordinary practice is to quote by-speeches in some historical narration or other, and to urge them as if they were written in most exact form of law. What is to add to the law of God if this be not? When that which the word of God doth but deliver historically, we construe¹ without any warrant as if it were legally meant, and so urge it further than we can prove that it was intended; do we not add to the laws of God, and make them in number seem more than they are? It standeth us upon to be careful in this case. For the sentence of God is heavy against them that wittingly shall presume thus to use the Scripture².

The same assertion we cannot hold without doing wrong unto all Churches.
VI. But let that which they do hereby intend be granted them; let it once stand as consonant to reason, that because we are forbidden to add to the law of God any thing, or to take aught from it, therefore we may not for matters of the Church make any law more than is already set down in Scripture: who seeth not what sentence it shall enforce us to give against all Churches in the world, inasmuch as there is not one, but hath had many things established in it, which though the Scripture did never command, yet for us to condemn were rashness? Let the Church of God even in the time of our Saviour Christ serve for example unto all the rest. In their domestical celebration of the passover, which supper they divided (as it were) into two courses; what Scripture did give commandment that between the first and the second he that was chief should put off the residue of his garments, and keeping on his feast-robe³ only wash the feet of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them never to lift up their hands unwashed in prayer unto God? which custom Aristeeas (be the credit of the author more or less) sheweth wherefore they did so religiously observe⁴. What Scripture did command the Jews every festival-day to fast till the sixth hour? the custom both

¹ [*construe*,² and so viii. 1. IV. calc. Josephi, Colon. 1591, p. 33, interpretatus de sui ratione non uniformi.] 1886.

² [Rev. xxii. 18.]

³ John xiii. Cuzatorium: de quo participio dicitur cum pedes discipulorum lavaret. Matt. xxii. 12. Ibi de Cuzatorio dicitur quod est vestis quae circum datur.

⁴ [De LXX. Interpretibus, ad



BOOK III.
Ch. vi. §. 4.

to pray in, when they came not up to Jerusalem, the erecting of pulpits and chairs to teach in, the order of burial, the rites of marriage, with such-like, being matters appertaining to the Church, yet are not any where prescribed in the law, but were by the Church's discretion instituted? What then shall we think? Did they hereby add to the law, and so displease God by that which they did? None so hardly persuaded of them. Doth their law deliver unto them the selfsame general rules of the Apostle, that framing thereby their orders they might in that respect clear themselves from doing amiss? St. Paul would then of likelihood have cited them out of the Law, which we see he doth not. The truth is, they are rules and canons of that law which is written in all men's hearts; the Church had for ever no less than now stood bound to observe them, whether the Apostles had mentioned them or no.

Seeing therefore those canons do bind as they are edicts of nature, which the Jews observing as yet unwritten, and thereby framing such church orders as in their law were not prescribed, are notwithstanding in that respect unculpable: it followeth that sundry things may be lawfully done in the Church, so as they be not done against the Scripture, although no Scripture do command them, but the Church only following the light of reason judge them to be in discretion meet.

[3.] Secondly, unto our purpose and for the question in hand, whether the commandments of God in Scripture be general or special, it skilleth not: for if being particularly applied they have in regard of such particulars a force constraining us to take some one certain thing of many, and to leave the rest; whereby it would come to pass, that any other particular but that one being established, the general rules themselves in that case would be broken; then is it utterly impossible that God should leave any thing great or small free for the Church to establish or not.

[4.] Thirdly, if so be they shall grant, as they cannot otherwise do, that these rules are no such laws as require any one particular thing to be done, but serve rather to direct the Church in all things which she doth; so that free and lawful it is to devise any ceremony, to receive any order, and to authorize any kind of regiment, no special command-

ment being thereby violated, and the same being thought such by them, to whom the judgment thereof appertaineth, as that it is not scandalous, but decent, tending unto edification, and setting forth the glory of God; that is to say, agreeable unto the general rules of Holy Scripture: this doth them no good in the world for the furtherance of their purpose. That which should make for them must prove that men ought not to make laws for church regiment, but only keep those laws which in Scripture they find made. The plain intent of the Book of Ecclesiastical Discipline¹ is to shew that men may not devise laws of church government, but are bound for ever to use and to execute only those which God himself hath already devised and delivered in the Scripture. The selfsame drift the Admonitioners also had, in urging that nothing ought to be done in the Church according unto any law of man's devising, but all according to that which God in his word hath commanded. Which not remembering, they gather out of Scripture general rules to be followed in making laws; and so in effect they plainly grant that we ourselves may lawfully make laws for the Church, and are not bound out of Scripture only to take laws already made, as they meant who first alleged that principle whereof we speak. One particular platform it is which they respected, and which they laboured thereby to force upon all Churches; whereas these general rules do not let but that there may well enough be sundry. It is the particular order established in the Church of England, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas unto those general rules they know we do not defend that we may hold any thing unconformable. Obscure it is not what meaning they had, who first gave out that grand axiom; and according unto that meaning it doth prevail far and wide with the favourers of that part. Demand of them, wherefore they conform not themselves unto the order of our Church, and in every particular their answer for the most part is, "We find no such thing commanded in the word:" whereby they plainly require some special commandment for that which is exacted at their hands; neither are they content

¹ [By Travers, Geneva 1580.]

364 *A second Glass, that Rules must be grounded on Scripture.*

BOOK III. to have matters of the Church examined by general rules
Ch. vi. §. 4. and canons.

[5.] As therefore in controversies between us and the Church of Rome, that which they practise is many times even according to the very grossness of that which the vulgar sort conceiveth; when that which they teach to maintain it is so nice and subtle that hold can very hardly be taken thereupon; in which cases we should do the Church of God small benefit by disputing with them according unto the finest points of their dark conveyances, and suffering that sense of their doctrine to go uncontrolled, wherein by the common sort it is ordinarily received and practised: so considering what disturbance hath grown in the Church amongst ourselves, and how the authors thereof do commonly build altogether on this as a sure foundation, "Nothing ought to be established in the Church which "in the word of God is not commanded;" were it reason that we should suffer the same to pass without controlment in that current meaning whereby every where it prevaleth, and stay till some strange construction were made thereof, which no man would lightly have thought on but being driven thereunto for a shift?

VIII. The last refuge in maintaining this position is thus to construe it, "Nothing ought to be established in the Church, "but that which is commanded in the word of God;" that is to say, all Church orders must be "grounded upon the word "of God";" in such sort grounded upon the word, not that being found out by some "star, or light of reason, or learning, "or other help," they may be received, so they be not against the word of God; but according at leastwise unto the general rules of Scripture they must be made. Which is in effect as much as to say, "We know not what to say well in defence "of this position; and therefore lest we should say it is false, "there is no remedy but to say that in some sense or other it "may be true, if we could tell how."

[2.] First, that scholy had need of a very favourable reader and a tractable, that should think it plain construction, when to be *commanded in the word and grounded upon the word* are made all one. If when a man may live in the state of matrimony, seeking that good thereby which nature principally

¹ [T. C. ii. 36.]

Another answer in defence of the former assertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened. All Church orders must be commanded in the word, that is to say, grounded upon the word, and made according to the laws, wise unto the general rules of Holy Scripture. As

desireth¹, he make rather choice of a contrary life in regard of St. Paul's judgment²; that which he doth is manifestly grounded upon the word of God, yet not *commanded* in his word, because without breach of any commandment he might do otherwise.

[3.] Secondly, whereas no man in justice and reason can be reproved for those actions which are framed according unto that known will of God, whereby they are to be judged; and the will of God which we are to judge our actions by, no sound divine in the world ever denied to be in part made manifest even by light of nature, and not by Scripture alone; if the Church being directed by the former of these two (which God hath given who gave the other, that man might in different sort be guided by them both), if the Church I say do approve and establish that which thereby it judgeth meet, and findeth not repugnant to any word or syllable of holy Scripture; who shall warrant our presumptuous boldness controlling herein the Church of Christ?

[4.] But so it is, the name of the light of nature is made hateful with men; the "star of reason and learning," and all other such like helps, beginneth no otherwise to be thought of than if it were an unlucky comet; or as if God had so accursed it, that it should never shine or give light in things concerning our duty any way towards him, but be esteemed as that star in the Revelation³ called *Horseshoe*, which being fallen from heaven, maketh rivers and waters in which it falleth so bitter, that men tasting them die thereof. A number there are, who think they cannot admire as they ought the power and authority of the word of God, if in things divine they should attribute any force to man's reason. For which cause they never use reason so willingly as to disgrace reason. Their usual and common discourses are unto this effect. First, "the natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."⁴ Secondly, it is not for nothing that St. Paul giveth charge to "beware of philosophy⁵," that is to say, such knowledge as men by natural reason attain unto. Thirdly, consider them

¹ Arist. Pol. l. 2. ² 1 Cor. vii. 8. 25. ³ Apoc. viii. 10.
⁴ 1 Cor. ii. 14. ⁵ Col. ii. 8.

BOOK III
Ch. viii. 5

that have from time to time opposed themselves against the Gospel of Christ, and most troubled the Church with heresy. Have they not always been great admirers of human reason? Hath their deep and profound skill in secular learning made them the more obedient to the truth, and not armed them rather against it? Fourthly, they that fear God will remember how heavy his sentences are in this case: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? Seeing the world by wisdom knew not God in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save believers¹." Fifthly, the word of God in itself is absolute, exact and perfect. The word of God is a two-edged sword²; as for the weapons of natural reason, they are as the armour of Saul³, rather cumbersome about the soldier of Christ than needful. They are not of force to do that which the Apostles of Christ did by the power of the Holy Ghost: "My preaching," therefore saith Paul, "hath not been in the enticing speech of man's wisdom, but in plain evidence of the Spirit and of power, that your faith might not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God⁴." Sixthly, if I believe the Gospel, there needeth no reasoning about it to persuade me; if I do not believe, it must be the Spirit of God and not the reason of man that shall convert my heart unto him. By these and the like disputes an opinion hath spread itself very far in the world, as if the way to be ripe in faith were to be raw in wit and judgment; as if reason were an enemy unto religion, childish simplicity the mother of ghostly and divine wisdom.

[5.] The cause why such declamations prevail so greatly, is, for that men suffer themselves in two respects to be deluded; one is, that the wisdom of man being debased either in comparison with that of God, or in regard of some special thing exceeding the reach and compass thereof, it seemeth to them (not marking so much) as if simply it were condemned; another, that learning, knowledge or wisdom, falsely so termed, usurping a name whereof they are not worthy, and being

¹ 1 Cor. i. 19. ² [Heb. iv. 12.] ³ [1 Sam. xviii. 39.] ⁴ 1 Cor. ii. 4.

1 Cor. ii. 14. *no Disparagement to Human Reason.* 357

under that name controlled; their reproof is by so much the more easily misapplied, and through equivocation wrested against those things whereunto so precious names do properly and of right belong. This, duly observed, doth to the former allegations itself make sufficient answer. Howbeit, for all men's plainer and fuller satisfaction:

[6.] First, Concerning the inability of reason to search out and to judge of things divine, if they be such as those properties of God and those duties of men towards him, which may be conceived by attentive consideration of heaven and earth; we know that of mere natural men the Apostle testifieth¹, how they knew both God, and the Law of God. Other things of God there be which are neither so found, nor though they be shewed can never be approved without the *special* operation of God's good grace and Spirit. Of such things sometime spake the Apostle St. Paul, declaring how Christ had called him to be a witness of his death and resurrection from the dead, according to that which the Prophets and Moses had foreshewed. Festus, a mere natural man, an infidel, a Roman, one whose ears were unacquainted with such matter, heard him, but could not reach unto that whereof he spake; the suffering and the rising of Christ from the dead he rejecteth as idle superstitious fancies not worth the hearing². The Apostle that knew them by the Spirit, and spake of them with power of the Holy Ghost, seemed in his eyes but learnedly mad³. Which example maketh manifest what elsewhere the same Apostle teacheth, namely, that nature hath need of grace⁴, whereunto I hope we are not opposite, by holding that grace hath use of nature.

[7.] Secondly, Philosophy we are warned to take heed of: not that philosophy, which is true and sound knowledge attained by natural discourse of reason; but that philosophy, which to bolster heresy or error casteth a fraudulent show of reason upon things which are indeed unreasonable, and by that mean as by a stratagem spoileth the simple which are not able to withstand such cunning. "Take heed lest any spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit⁵." He that exhorteth to beware of an enemy's policy doth not give

¹ Rom. i. 21, 32. ² Acts xxv. 19. ³ Acts xxvi. 24.
⁴ 1 Cor. ii. 14. ⁵ Col. ii. 8.

BOOK III.
Ch. viii. 8.
counsel to be impolitic, but rather to use all provident foresight and circumspection, lest our simplicity be overreached by cunning sleights. The way not to be inveigled by them that are so guileful through skill, is thoroughly to be instructed in that which maketh skilful against guile, and to be armed with that true and sincere philosophy, which doth teach, against that deceitful and vain, which spoileth.

[8.] Thirdly, But many great philosophers have been very unsound in belief. And many sound in belief, have been also great philosophers. Could secular knowledge bring the one sort unto the love of Christian faith? Nor Christian faith the other sort out of love with secular knowledge. The harm that heretics did, they did it unto such as were unable to discern between sound and deceitful reasoning; and the remedy against it was ever the skill which the ancient Fathers had to descry and discover such deceit. Inasmuch that Cresconius the heretic complained greatly of St. Augustine, as being too full of logical subtilties¹. Heresy prevailth only by a counterfeit show of reason; whereby notwithstanding it becometh invincible, unless it be convicted of fraud by manifest remonstrance clearly true and unable to be withstood. When therefore the Apostle requireth ability to convict heretics², can we think he judgeth it a thing unlawful, and not rather needful, to use the principal instrument of their conviction, the light of reason? It may not be denied but that in the Fathers' writings there are sundry sharp invectives against heretics, even for their very philosophical reasonings. The cause whereof Tertullian confesseth not to have been any dislike conceived against the kind of such reasonings, but the end³. "We may," saith he, "even in matters of God

¹ [S. Aug. contr. Crescon. l. 16. l. 397. "Quid est aliud Dialectica, quam perita disputandi?" "Quod ideo agendum putavi, quia etiam ipsam mihi objicere voluisti, quasi Christiane non congruis venturi, et ideo me discolora vestri, velut hominem dialecticum, merito fugiendam potius et cavendam, quam refellendam revincendumque censuerint." "Quod cum tibi non persuaserint, nam te adversus nos etiam scribendo disputare non piguit, tu

"tamen in me dialecticam criminatus es, quo falleres imperitos, eosque laudares qui disputando mecum congressi solerant. Sed tu videlicet non dialectica uestigia cum contra nos scribis?"

² Tit. l. 2. 11.

³ Tert. de Resur. Carnis. [c. 3. "Est quidem et de communibus sensibus agere in Dei rebus, sed in testimonium veri, non in adiutorium falsi; quod sit secundum divinam, non contra divinam dispositionem. Quaedam enim et

"be made wiser by reasons drawn from the public persuasions, which are grafted in men's minds: so they be used to further the truth, not to bolster error; so they make with, not against, that which God hath determined. For there are some things even known by nature, as the immortality of the soul unto many, our God unto all. I will therefore myself also use the sentence of some such as Plato, pronouncing every soul immortal. I myself too will use the secret acknowledgment of the commonalty¹, bearing record of the God of gods. But when I hear men allege, 'That which is dead is dead;' and, 'While thou art alive be alive;' and, 'After death an end of all, even of death itself;' then will I call to mind both that the heart of the people with God is accounted dust², and that the very wisdom of the world is pronounced folly³. If then an heretic fly also unto such vicious popular and secular conceits, my answer unto him shall be, 'Thou heretic, avoid the heathen; although in this ye be one, that ye both belie God, yet thou that doest this under the name of Christ, differest from the heathen, in that thou seemest to thyself a Christian. Leave him therefore his conceits, seeing that neither will he learn thine. Why dost thou having sight trust to a blind guide; thou which hast put on Christ take raiment of him that is naked? If the Apostle have armed thee, why dost thou borrow a stranger's shield? Let him rather learn of thee to acknowledge, than thou of him to renounce the resurrection of the flesh.'" In a word, the Catholic Fathers did good

"natura nota sunt, ut immortalitas animae penes plures, ut Deus noster penes omnes. Utar ergo et sententia Platonis alicujus pronunciantis, 'Omnia anima immortalia.' Utar et conscientia populi, contestantis Deum Deorum... At cum aiunt, 'Mortuum quod mortuum,' et, 'Vive dum vivis,' et post mortem omnia finiuntur, etiam ipsa; tunc meminero, et cor vulgi cinerem a Deo deputatum, et ipsam sapientiam saeculi stultitiam pronunciatam. Tunc si et haereticus ad vulgi vicia, vel saeculi ingenia confugerit, Dia-

"lice; etsi unum estis omnes qui Deum fingitis; dum hoc tamen in Christi nomine facis, dum Christianus tibi videris, alius ab ethnico es. Redde illi sua sensus, quia nec ille de tuis instruitur, Quid carco facti imitatoris, si vides? Quid vestitis a ruda*, si Christum induisti? Quid aliene uteris clypeo, si ab Apollonio armatus es? Ille potius a te dicat carnis resurrectionem confiteri, quam tu ab illo differri.]"

[1] *communali*, "A. B.]

[2] [Isai. xlv. 20.]

[3] [1 Cor. iii. 19.]

obstinate hearts are delighted with, esteeming in the frantic error of their minds the greatest madness in the world to be wisdom, and the highest wisdom foolishness. Such were both Jews and Grecians, which professed the one sort legal, and the other secular skill, neither enduring to be taught the mystery of Christ: unto the glory of whose most blessed name, whoso study to use both their reason and all other gifts, as well which nature as which grace hath endued them with, let them never doubt but that the same God who is to destroy and confound utterly that wisdom falsely so named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true Scribes, Scribes by wisdom instructed to the kingdom of heaven¹, not Scribes against that kingdom hardened in a vain opinion of wisdom; which in the end being proved folly, must needs perish, true understanding, knowledge, judgment and reason continuing for evermore.

[10.] Fifthly, Unto the word of God, being in respect of that end for which God ordained it perfect, exact, and absolute in itself, we do not add reason as a supplement of any main or defect therein, but as a necessary instrument, without which we could not reap by the Scripture's perfection that fruit and benefit which it yieldeth. "The word of God is a twoedged sword"² but in the hands of reasonable men; and reason as the weapon that slew Goliath, if they be as David was that use it. Touching the Apostles, He which gave them from above such power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, endued them also with wisdom from above to teach that which they so did confirm. Our Saviour made choice of twelve simple and unlearned men, that the greater their lack of natural wisdom was, the more admirable that might appear which God supernaturally endued them with from heaven. Such therefore as knew the poor and silly estate wherein they had lived, could not but wonder to hear the wisdom of their speech, and be so much the more attentive unto their teaching. They studied for no tongue, they spake with all³; of themselves they were rude, and knew not so much as how to premeditate; the Spirit gave them speech and eloquent utterance.

But because with St. Paul it was otherwise than with the

BOOK III.
Ch. XII. 10.

miracle did authorize it, and so bring credit thereunto, as to BOOK III.
 the speech of the rest of the Apostles. Of which two, Ch. vii. 24.
 the former he utterly denieth. For why? If the preaching of the
 rest had been effectual by miracle, his *only* by force of his
 own learning; so great inequality between him and the other
 Apostles in this thing had been enough to subvert their faith.
 For might they not with reason have thought, that if he were
 sent of God as well as they, God would not have furnished
 them and not him with the power of the Holy Ghost? Might
 not a great part of them being simple haply have feared, lest
 their assent had been cunningly gotten unto his doctrine,
 rather through the weakness of their own wits than the cer-
 tainty of that truth which he had taught them? How unequal
 had it been that all believers through the preaching of other
 Apostles should have their faith strongly built upon the evi-
 dence of God's own miraculous approbation, and they whom
 he had converted should have their persuasion built only upon
 his skill and wisdom who persuaded them?

As therefore calling from men may authorize us to teach,
 although it could not authorize him to teach as other Apostles
 did: so although the wisdom of man had not been sufficient
 to enable him such a teacher as the rest of the apostles were,
 unless God's miracles had strengthened both the one and the
 other's doctrine; yet unto our ability both of teaching and
 learning the truth of Christ, as we are but mere Christian
 men, it is not a little which the wisdom of man may add¹.

¹ [Chr. Letter, p. 45. "In all
 your bookes, although we finde
 "manie good things, manie truths
 "and fine points bravely handled,
 "yet in all your discourse for the
 "most parte, Aristotle the patriarch
 "of philosophers (with divers other
 "humane writers) and the ingenious
 "schoolmen, almost in all points
 "have some finger; reason is highlie
 "set up against Holie Scripture,
 "and reading against preaching."
 Hooker, M.S. note. "If Aristotle
 "and the schoolmen be such peri-
 "ous creatures, you must needs
 "think yourself an happie man,
 "whome God hath so freely best
 "from too much knowledg in them.
 "Remember heer S. Jerome's
 "Epistle in his own defense." (To
 Magnus, l. ii. 326. He pleads pre-
 cedent, scriptural and ecclesiastical,
 for his use of profane learning.)
 "Forget not Picus Mirandula's
 "judgment of the schoolmen;"
 (Opp. l. 29. "Ut a nostris, ad
 "quos postremo philosophia perve-
 "nit, sume cordiar; est in Joanne
 "Scoto vegetum quiddam atque
 "discussum, in Thoma solidum et
 "equabile, in Algualio tersum et ex-
 "actum, in Francisco acre et acu-
 "tum, in Alberto priscum, amplum,
 "et grande, in Henrico, ut mihi
 "visum est, semper sublime et
 "venerandum.") - Beza's judgment
 "of Aristotle." (For his opinion
 "of the use of logic, see Epist. 67.)
 "As also Calvin's judgment of phi-
 "losophie. Epist. 99, ad Buce-

BOOK III. [11.] Sixthly, Yea, whatsoever our hearts be to God and
Ch. vii. 11.
11.

to his truth, believe we or be we as yet faithless, for our conversion or confirmation the force of natural reason is great. The force whereof unto those effects is nothing without grace. What then? To our purpose it is sufficient, that whosoever doth serve, honour, and obey God, whosoever believeth in Him, that man would no more do this than innocents and infants do, but for the light of natural reason that shineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend those things of God, which being by grace discovered, are effectual to persuade reasonable minds and none other, that honour, obedience, and credit, belong of right unto God. No man cometh unto God to offer him sacrifice, to pour out supplications and prayers before him, or to do him any service, which doth not first believe him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in such sort seek unto him¹. Let men be taught this either by revelation from heaven, or by instruction upon earth; by labour, study, and meditation, or by the only secret inspiration of the Holy Ghost; whatsoever the mean be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were possible without discourse of natural reason, why should none be found capable thereof but only men; nor men till such time as they come unto ripe and full ability to work by reasonable understanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it but only to teach Theology? Theology, what is it but the science of things divine? What science can be attained unto without the help of natural discourse and reason? "Judge you of that which I speak," saith the Apostle. In vain it were to speak any thing of God, but that by reason men are able somewhat to judge of that they hear, and by discourse to discern how consonant it is to truth.

[12.] Scripture indeed teacheth things above nature, things

"rum." (p. 110. "Et philosophia
"preclarum est Dei donum; et qui
"omnibus seculis existerent docti
"vires, eos Deus ipse excitavit, ut ad ve-
"ri notitiam mundo preloquerent.")
Again, Chr. Letter, lib. 1. "Shall
"we doe you wronge to suspect...
"that you esteeme the preaching
"and writing of all the reverend
" Fathers of our Church, and the
" books of holy Scripture to bee at
" the least of no greater moment than

"Aristotle and the scholemes?"
Hooker, MS. note: "I think of
"the Scripture of God as reverently
"as the best of the purified crew in
"the world. I except not any, no
"not the founders themselves and
"captaines of that faction. In
"which mind I hope by the grace
"of Almighty God that I shall both
"live and die."
¹ Heb. xi. 6.
² 1 Cor. x. 13.



which our reason by itself could not reach unto. Yet those things also we believe, knowing by reason that the Scripture is the word of God. In the presence of Festus a Roman, and of King Agrippa a Jew, St. Paul omitting the one, who neither knew the Jews' religion nor the books whereby they were taught it, speaketh unto the other of things foresewed by Moses and the Prophets and performed in Jesus Christ; intending thereby to prove himself so unjustly accused, that unless his judges did condemn both Moses and the Prophets, him they could not choose but acquit¹, who taught only that fulfilled, which they so long since had foretold. His cause was easy to be discerned; what was done their eyes were witnesses; what Moses and the Prophets did speak their books could quickly shew; it was no hard thing for him to compare them, which knew the one, and believed the other. "King Agrippa, believest thou the Prophets? I know thou dost²." The question is how the books of the Prophets came to be credited of King Agrippa. For what with him did authorize the Prophets, the like with us doth cause the rest of the Scripture of God to be of credit.

[13] Because we maintain that in Scripture we are taught all things necessary unto salvation; hereupon very childishly it is by some demanded, what Scripture can teach us the sacred authority of the Scripture, upon the knowledge whereof our whole faith and salvation dependeth³? As though there were any kind of science in the world which leadeth men into knowledge without presupposing a number of things already known. No science doth make known the first principles whereon it buildeth, but they are always either taken as plain and manifest in themselves, or as proved and granted already, some former knowledge having made them evident. Scripture teacheth all supernatural revealed truth, without the knowledge whereof salvation cannot be attained. The main principle whereupon our belief of all things therein contained dependeth, is, that the Scriptures are the oracles of God himself. This in itself we cannot say is evident. For then all men that hear it would acknowledge it in heart, as they do when they hear that "every whole is more than any part of that whole," because this in itself is evident. The

¹ ["acquite," A. B.] 1886. ² Acts xxvi. 27.

³ [Compare II. iv. 2.] 1886.

BOOK III. other we know that all do not acknowledge when they hear it.
 Ch. viii. 14. There must be therefore some former knowledge presupposed
 which doth herein assure the hearts of all believers. Scripture
 teacheth us that saving truth which God hath discovered unto
 the world by revelation, and it presumeth us taught otherwise
 that itself is divine and sacred.

[14.] The question then being by what means we are
 taught this; some answer that to learn it we have no other
 way than only tradition; as namely that so we believe
 because both we from our predecessors and they from theirs
 have so received. But is this enough? That which all men's
 experience teacheth them may not in any wise be denied.
 And by experience we all know, that the first outward motive
 leading men so to esteema of the Scripture is the authority
 of God's Church¹. For when we know the whole Church
 of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it
 even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and
 brought up in the Church to be of a contrary mind with-
 out cause. Afterwards the more we bestow our labour in
 reading or hearing the mysteries thereof, the more we find
 that the thing itself doth answer our received opinion concern-
 ing it. So that the former inducement prevailing somewhat
 with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very
 thing hath ministered farther reason. If infidels or atheists

¹ [Chr. Letter, p. 9, 10. "Have
 "we not here good cause to suspect
 "the underprepping of a popish
 "principle concerning the Churches
 "authoritie above the Holie Scrip-
 "ture, to the disgrace of the Eng-
 "lish Church?"
 Hooker, MS. note. "You have
 "already done your best to make a
 "jarre between nature and Scrip-
 "ture. Your next endeavour is to
 "doe the like between Scripture
 "and the Church. Your delight in
 "conflicts doth make you dreame of
 "them where they are not."
 Again, Christ. Letter, p. 10. "We
 "pray you to expound, either by
 "experience or otherwise; whether
 "the worde of God was receaved in
 "the world, and beleaved by men,
 "by the virtue and authority of the
 "witnesses, either Prophets or Apo-

"stles, or the holy Church; or
 "that such were not esteemed for
 "the wordes sake."

Hooker, MS. note. "I am sorie
 "to see you in the groundes and
 "elements of your religion so scien-
 "derly instructed."

"Fides nimir authoritate docentis.
 "Dicens autem confirmatum habet
 "authoritatem personae virtute mi-
 "raculorum. Id quod omnino ne-
 "cessarium est propter ea quae docet
 "supra et praeter naturalem ratio-
 "nem: qua omnis probatio argu-
 "mentosa nititur, quae fidem facit."

"Atque hoc Apostolus de se testatur,
 "cum efficacem fuisse sermonem
 "suum asseri non vi humanae per-
 "suasionis, sed assistentia Spiritus
 "ad opera miraculosa perferenda.
 "Vide Tertullian, contra Gent. p.
 "637.*]

The Testimony of the Spirit, how best discerned. 377

chance at any time to call it in question, this giveth us BOOK III.
 occasion to sift what reason there is, whereby the testimony of CH. VII. 15.
 the Church concerning Scripture, and our own persuasion
 which Scripture itself hath confirmed, may be proved a truth
 infallible. In which case the ancient Fathers being often
 constrained to shew, what warrant they had so much to rely
 upon the Scriptures, endeavoured still to maintain the
 authority of the books of God by arguments such as unbel-
 iefers themselves must needs think reasonable, if they judged
 thereof as they should. Neither is it a thing impossible
 or greatly hard, even by such kind of proofs so to manifest
 and clear that point, that no man living shall be able to deny
 it, without denying some apparent principle such as all men
 acknowledge to be true.

Wherefore if I believe the Gospel, yet is reason of singular
 use, for that it confirmeth me in this my belief the more:
 if I do not as yet believe, nevertheless to bring me to the
 number of believers except reason did somewhat help, and
 were an instrument which God doth use unto such purposes,
 what should it boot to dispute with infidels or godless persons
 for their conversion and persuasion in that point?

[15] Neither can I think that when grave and learned
 men do sometime hold, that of this principle there is no proof
 but by the testimony of the Spirit, which assureth our hearts
 therein, it is their meaning to exclude utterly all force which
 any kind of reason may have in that behalf; but I rather
 incline to interpret such their speeches, as if they had more
 expressly set down, that other motives and inducements, be
 they never so strong and consonant unto reason, are not-
 withstanding uneffectual of themselves to work faith concern-
 ing this principle, if the special grace of the Holy Ghost
 concur not to the enlightening of our minds. For otherwise
 I doubt not but men of wisdom and judgment will grant, that
 the Church, in this point especially, is furnished with reason,
 to stop the mouths of her impious adversaries; and that as it
 were altogether bootless to allege against them what the
 Spirit hath taught us, so likewise that even to our ourselves
 it needeth caution and explication how the testimony of the
 Spirit may be discerned, by what means it may be known:
 lest men think that the Spirit of God doth testify those things

BOOK III. which the Spirit of error suggesteth. The operations of the Spirit, especially these ordinary which be common unto all true Christian men, are as we know things secret and undiscernible even to the very soul where they are, because their nature is of another and an higher kind than that they can be by us perceived in this life. Wherefore albeit the Spirit lead us into all truth and direct us in all goodness, yet because these workings of the Spirit in us are so privy and secret, we therefore stand on a plainer ground, when we gather by reason from the quality of things believed or done, that the Spirit of God hath directed us in both, than if we settle ourselves to believe or to do any certain particular thing, as being moved thereto by the Spirit.

[16.] But of this enough. To go from the books of Scripture to the sense and meaning thereof: because the sentences which are by the Apostles recited out of the Psalms¹, to prove the resurrection of Jesus Christ, did not prove it, if so be the Prophet David meant them of himself; this exposition therefore they plainly disprove, and shew by manifest reason, that of David the words of David could not possibly be meant. Exclude the use of natural reasoning about the sense of Holy Scripture concerning the articles of our faith, and then that the Scripture doth concern the articles of our faith who can assure us? That, which by right exposition buildeth up Christian faith, being misconstrued breedeth error: between true and false construction, the difference reason must shew. Can Christian men perform that which Peter requireth at their hands; is it possible they should both believe and be able, without the use of reason, to render "a reason of their belief?" a reason sound and sufficient to answer them that demand it, be they of the same faith with us or enemies thereunto? may we cause our faith without reason to appear reasonable in the eyes of men? This being required even of learners in the school of Christ, the duty of their teachers in bringing them unto such ripeness must needs be somewhat more, than only to read the sentences of Scripture, and then paraphrastically to scholy them: to vary them with sundry forms of speech, without arguing or disputing about any thing which they contain. This method of teaching may

¹ Acts xiii. 36; ii. 34.

² 1 Pet. iii. 15.

it is appealed to by Christ and the Apostles. 379

commend itself unto the world by that easiness and facility which is in it: but a law or a pattern it is not, as some do imagine, for all men to follow that will do good in the Church of Christ.

[17.] Our Lord and Saviour himself did hope by disputation to do some good, yea by disputation not only of but against, the truth, albeit with purpose for the truth. That Christ should be the son of David was truth; yet against this truth our Lord in the gospel objecteth, "If Christ be the son of David, how doth David call him Lord?" There is as yet no way known how to dispute, or to determine of things disputed, without the use of natural reason.

If we please to add unto Christ their example, who followed him as near in all things as they could; the sermon of Paul and Barnabas set down in the Acts⁴, where the people would have offered unto them sacrifice; in that sermon what is there but only natural reason to disprove their act? "O men, why do you these things? We are men even subject to the selfsame passions with you: we preach unto you to leave these vanities and to turn to the living God, the God that hath not left himself without witness, in that he hath done good to the world, giving rain and fruitful seasons, filling our heart with joy and gladness."

Neither did they only use reason in winning such unto Christian belief as were yet thereto unconverted, but with believers themselves they followed the selfsame course. In that great and solemn assembly of believing Jews how doth Peter prove that the Gentiles were partakers of the grace of God as well as they, but by reason drawn from those effects, which were apparently known amongst them? "God which knoweth hearts hath borne them witness in giving unto them the Holy Ghost as unto us."

The light therefore, which the "star of natural reason" and wisdom casteth, is too bright to be obscured by the mist of a word or two uttered to diminish that opinion which justly hath been received concerning the force and virtue thereof, even in matters that touch most nearly the principal duties of men and the glory of the eternal God.

[18.] In all which hitherto hath been spoken touching the

¹ Matt. xxii. 43.

² Acts xiv. 15.

³ Acts xv. 8.

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BOOK III
Ch. III.

force and use of man's reason in things divine, I must crave that I be not so understood or construed, as if any such thing by virtue thereof could be done without the aid and assistance of God's most blessed Spirit. The thing we have handled according to the question moved about it; which question is, whether the light of reason be so pernicious, that in devising laws for the Church men ought not by it to search what may be fit and convenient. For this cause therefore we have endeavoured to make it appear, how in the nature of reason itself there is no impediment, but that the selfsame Spirit, which revealeth the things that God hath set down in his law, may also be thought to aid and direct men in finding out by the light of reason what laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church, over and besides them that are in Scripture. Herein therefore we agree with those men, by whom human laws are defined to be ordinances, which such as have lawful authority given them for that purpose do probably draw from the laws of nature and God, by discourse of reason aided with the influence of divine grace. And for that cause, it is not said amiss touching ecclesiastical canons, that "by instinct of the Holy Ghost they have been made, and "consecrated by the reverend acceptance of all the world!"

How laws for the regiment of the Church may be made by the advice of men following therein the light of reason, and how those laws being not repugnant to the word of God are approved in his sight.

IX. Laws for the Church are not made as they should be, unless the makers follow such direction as they ought to be guided by: wherein that Scripture standeth not the Church of God in any stead, or serveth nothing at all to direct, but may be let pass as needless to be consulted with, we judge it profane, impious, and irreligious to think. For although it were in vain to make laws which the Scripture hath already made, because what we are already there commanded to do, on our parts there resteth nothing but only that it be executed; yet because both in that which we are commanded, it concerneth the duty of the Church by law to provide, that the looseness and slackness of men may not cause the commandments of God to be unexecuted; and a number of things there are for which the Scripture hath not provided by any law,

¹ Violatores, 25. q. 1. [Decret. Gratian, caus. xxv. quest. i. c. 6. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Paris. 1618. p. 313.] "tanti graviter a sanctis patribus juncantur, et a Sancto Spiritu (instinctu eius, et dono dictati sunt) damnantur."

but left them unto the careful discretion of the Church; we are to search how the Church in these cases may be well directed to make that provision by laws which is most convenient and fit. And what is so in these cases, partly Scripture and partly reason must teach to discern. Scripture comprehending examples and laws, laws some natural and some positive: examples there neither are for all cases which require laws to be made, and when there are, they can but direct as precedents only. Natural laws direct in such sort, that in all things we must for ever do according unto them; Positive so, that against them in no case we may do any thing, as long as the will of God is that they should remain in force. Howbeit when Scripture doth yield us precedents, how far forth they are to be followed; when it giveth natural laws, what particular order is thereunto most agreeable; when positive, which way to make laws unrepugnant unto them; yea though all these should want, yet what kind of ordinances would be most for that good of the Church which is aimed at, all this must be by reason found out. And therefore, "to refuse the conduct "of the light of nature," saith St. Augustine, "is not folly alone "but accompanied with impiety".

[2.] The greatest amongst the School-divines, studying how to set down by exact definition the nature of an human law, (of which nature all the Church's constitutions are,) found not which way better to do it than in these words: "Out of the "precepts of the law of nature, as out of certain common and "undemonstrable principles, man's reason doth necessarily "proceed unto certain more particular determinations; which "particular determinations being found out according unto the "reason of man, they have the names of human laws, so that "such other conditions be therein kept as the making of laws "doth require"; that is, if they whose authority is thereunto required do establish and publish them as laws. And

¹ "Luminis naturalis ducatum
"repellere non modo stultum est sed
"et impium." August. lib. 10. de
"Trin. cap. 6. [The editor has not
"been able to verify this quotation.]
² Tho. Aquin. 1. 2. q. 91. art. 3.
[t. xi. p. 1. 199.] "Ex preceptis
"legis naturalis, quasi ex quibus-
"dam principiis communibus et in-

"demonstrabilibus, necesse est quod
"ratio humana procedat ad aliqua
"magis particulariter dispositio-
"nes. Et istae particulares dispositiones
"adveniunt secundum rationem
"humanam dicuntur leges humanae,
"observata aliis conditionibus quae
"pertinent ad rationem legis."

BOOK III. the truth is, that all our controversy in this cause concerning
 Ch. 16. 3. the orders of the Church is, what particulars the Church may
 appoint. That which doth find them out is the force of man's
 reason. That which doth guide and direct his reason is first the
 general law of nature; which law of nature and the moral law
 of Scripture are in the substance of law all one. But because
 there are also in Scripture a number of laws particular and
 positive, which being in force may not by any law of man be
 violated; we are in making laws to have thereunto an especial
 eye. As for example, it might perhaps seem reasonable unto
 the Church of God, following the general laws concerning the
 nature of marriage, to ordain in particular that cousin-germans
 shall not marry. Which law notwithstanding ought not to be
 received in the Church, if there should be in Scripture a law
 particular to the contrary, forbidding utterly the bonds of
 marriage to be so far forth abridged. The same Thomas there-
 fore whose definition of human laws we mentioned¹ before,
 doth add thereunto this caution concerning the rule and canon
 whereby to make them²: *human laws are measures* in respect
 of men whose actions they must direct; howbeit such measures
 they are, as have also their higher rules to be measured by,
which rules are two, the law of God, and the law of nature.
 So that laws human must be made according to the general
 laws of nature, and without contradiction unto any positive
 law in Scripture. Otherwise they are ill made.

[3.] Unto laws thus made and received by a whole church,
 they which live within the bosom of that church must not
 think it a matter indifferent either to yield or not to yield
 obedience. Is it a small offence to despise the Church of
 God?³ "My son keep thy father's commandment," saith
 Salomon, "and forget not thy mother's instruction: bind
 "them both always about thine heart"⁴. It doth not stand
 with the duty which we owe to our heavenly Father, that to
 the ordinances of our mother the Church we should shew our-
 selves disobedient. Let us not say we keep the command-
 ments of the one, when we break the law of the other: for

¹ Quest. 95. Art. 3. [l. xi. p. l. "scilicet divina lex, et lex natura, ut
 206. "Lex humana... est quedam
 "regula, vel mensura, regulata, vel
 "mensurata quadam superiori men-
 "sura; que quidem est duplex,
 "scilicet divina lex, et lex natura, ut
 "ex supradictis patet."] ² 1. Cor. xi. 22.
³ 1. Cor. xi. 22. ⁴ Prov. vi. 20.

unless we observe both, we obey neither. And what doth let
 but that we may observe both, when they are not the one to
 the other in any sort repugnant? For of such laws only we
 speak, as being made in form and manner already declared,
 can have in them no contradiction unto the laws of Almighty
 God. Yea that which is more, the laws thus made God
 himself doth in such sort authorize, that to despise them is to
 despise in them Him. It is a loose and licentious opinion
 which the Anabaptists have embraced, holding that a Christi-
 an man's liberty is lost, and the soul which Christ hath
 redeemed unto himself injuriously drawn into servitude under
 the yoke of human power, if any law be now imposed besides
 the Gospel of Jesus Christ: in obedience whereunto the
 Spirit of God and not the constraint of man is to lead us,
 according to that of the blessed Apostle, "Such as are led by
 "the Spirit of God they are the sons of God",¹ and not such
 as live in thralldom unto men. Their judgment is therefore
 that the Church of Christ should admit no law-makers but the
 Evangelists. The author of that which causeth another thing
 to be, is author of that thing also which thereby is caused.
 The light of natural understanding, wit, and reason, is from
 God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate every man
 entering into the world.² If there proceed from us any thing
 afterwards corrupt and naught, the mother thereof is our
 own darkness, neither doth it proceed from any such cause
 whereof God is the author. He is the author of all that we
 think or do by virtue of that light, which himself hath given.
 And therefore the laws which the very heathens did gather
 to direct their actions by, so far forth as they proceeded from
 the light of nature, God himself doth acknowledge to³ have
 proceeded even from himself, and that he was the writer of
 them in the tables of their hearts. How much more then he
 the author of those laws, which have been made by his
 saints, endued further with the heavenly grace of his Spirit,
 and directed as much as might be with such instructions as
 his sacred word doth yield! Surely if we have unto those
 laws that dutiful regard which their dignity doth require, it
 will not greatly need that we should be exhorted to live in
 obedience unto them. If they have God himself for their

¹ Rom. viii. 14.² John i. 9.³ Rom. i. 19, ii. 15.

BOOK III. author, contempt which is offered unto them cannot choose
Ch. x. s. 4
 but redound unto him. The safest and unto God the most
 acceptable way of framing our lives therefore is, with all
 humility, lowliness, and singleness of heart, to study, which
 way our willing obedience both unto God and man may be
 yielded even to the utmost of that which is due.

That nei-
 ther God's
 being the
 author of
 laws, nor
 his commit-
 ting them
 to scrip-
 ture, nor
 the con-
 tinuance of
 the end for
 which they
 were insti-
 tuted, is
 any means
 sufficient to
 prove that
 they are
 unchange-
 able.

X. Touching the mutability of laws that concern the
 regiment and polity of the Church; changed they are, when
 either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed, or augmented
 with farther additions. Wherein we are to note, that this
 question about the changing of laws concerneth only such
 laws as are positive, and do make that now good or evil by
 being commanded or forbidden, which otherwise of itself were
 not simply the one or the other. Unto such laws it is expressly
 sometimes added, how long they are to continue in force.
 If this be nowhere exprest, then have we no light to direct
 our judgments concerning the changeableness or immutability
 of them, but by considering the nature and quality of such
 laws. The nature of every law must be judged of by the
 end for which it was made, and by the aptness of things
 therein prescribed unto the same end. It may so fall out
 that the reason why some laws of God were given is neither
 opened nor possible to be gathered by wit of man. As why
 God should forbid Adam that one tree, there was no way for
 Adam ever to have certainly understood. And at Adam's
 ignorance of this point Satan took advantage, urging the
 more securely a false cause because the true was unto Adam
 unknown. Why the Jews were forbidden to plough their
 ground with an ox and an ass, why to clothe themselves with
 mingled attire of wool and linen¹, both it was unto them and
 to us it remaineth obscure. Such laws perhaps cannot be
 abrogated saving only by whom they were made: because the
 intent of them being known unto none but the author, he
 alone can judge how long it is requisite they should endure.
 But if the reason why things were instituted may be known,
 and being known do appear manifestly to be of perpetual
 necessity; then are those things also perpetual, unless they

¹ Deut. xvii. 10, 11. [Spencer evidence, that these were prohibi-
 (de Legg. Hebræor. lib. ii. c. 31, tions of Sabæan ceremonies.)
 35] conjectures, but without direct

cease to be effectual unto that purpose for which they were at the first instituted. Because when a thing doth cease to be available unto the end which gave it being, the continuance of it must then of necessity appear superfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, how sometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards, when time hath changed the ancient course of things, doth grow to be either very hurtful, or not so greatly profitable and necessary. If therefore the end for which a law provideth be perpetually necessary, and the way whereby it provideth perpetually also most apt, no doubt but that every such law ought for ever to remain unchangeable.

[2.] Whether God be the author of laws by authorizing that power of men whereby they are made, or by delivering them made immediately from himself, by word only, or in writing also, or howsoever; notwithstanding the authority of their Maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made doth also make them changeable. The law of ceremonies came from God: Moses had commandment to commit it unto the sacred records of Scripture, where it continueth even unto this very day and hour: in force still, as the Jew surmiseth, because God himself was author of it, and for us to abolish what he hath established were presumption most intolerable. But (that which they in the blindness of their obdurate hearts are not able to discern) sith the end for which that law was ordained is now fulfilled, past and gone; how should it but cease any longer to be, which hath no longer any cause of being in force as before? "That which necessity" of some special time doth cause to be enjoined bindeth no longer than during that time, but doth afterwards become "free!"

Which thing is also plain even by that law which the Apostles assembled at the council of Jerusalem did from thence deliver unto the Church of Christ, the preface whereof to authorize it was, "To the Holy Ghost and to us it hath seemed good:" which style they did not use as matching themselves in power with the Holy Ghost, but as testifying

¹ "Quod pro necessitate tenuit. [i. e. Decret. Gratiani, pars 1. c. 41. in Corp. Jur. Canon. tit. 1.]
² "peris statum est, cessante necessitate, debet cessare pariter quod urgebat." l. q. 1. Quod pro necessitate. Acts xv. 28.
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BOOK III. the Holy Ghost to be the author, and themselves but only
Ch. 4. 3. utterers of that decree. This law therefore to have proceeded
from God as the author thereof no faithful man will deny. It
was of God, not only because God gave them the power
whereby they might make laws, but for that it proceeded even
from the holy motion and suggestion of that secret divine
Spirit, whose sentence they did but only pronounce. Notwith-
standing, as the law of ceremonies delivered unto the Jews, so
this very law which the Gentiles received from the mouth of
the Holy Ghost, is in like respect abrogated by decease of the
end for which it was given.

[3.] But such as do not stick at this point, such as grant
that what hath been instituted upon any special cause needeth
not to be observed, that cause ceasing, do notwithstanding
herein fail; they judge the laws of God only by the author
and main end for which they were made, so that for us to
change that which he hath established, they hold it execrable
pride and presumption, if so be the end and purpose for
which God by that mean provideth be permanent. And upon
this they ground those ample disputes concerning orders and
offices, which being by him appointed for the government of
his Church, if it be necessary always that the Church of Christ
be governed, then doth the end for which God provided re-
main still; and therefore in those means which he by law did
establish as being fittest unto that end, for us to alter any
thing is to lift up ourselves against God, and as it were to
countermand him. Wherein they mark not that laws are in-
struments to rule by, and that instruments are not only to
be framed according unto the general end for which they
are provided, but even according unto that very particular,
which riseth out of the matter whereon they have to work.

¹ Counterp. p. 8. [Coclin in his
"Answer to the Abstract," had pro-
duced the change of time in celebrat-
ing the Eucharist, from the evening
after supper, to the morning before
the first meal, as an instance of the
authority left with the Church to
vary matters of discipline. The
author of the Counter-poison replies,
"As it is a mere circumstance of
time, so the alteration hath ground
in the Scripture, because one and
the same time is not always kept.

"Acts iii. 42; xx. 7, 11, &c. Neither
"can that be said to be according to
"the institution, which *being done*
"upon a particular cause (as all di-
"vines agree) should not be altered
"where that cause ceaseth." T. C. is
"415. "Neither any man, nor all
"men in the world, could have put
"down the temporal ministries of
"Apostles, Evangelists, &c. which
"the Lord ordained, unless the
"Lord himself had withdrawn
"them."]

The end wherefore laws were made may be permanent, BOOK III.
 and those laws nevertheless require some alteration, if there CH. X. 4
 be any unfitness in the means which they prescribe as tending
 unto that end and purpose. As for example, a law that to
 bridle theft doth punish thieves with a quadruple restitution
 hath an end which will continue as long as the world itself
 continueth. Theft will be always, and will always need to
 be bridled. But that the mean which this law provideth for
 that end¹, namely the punishment of quadruple restitution,
 that this will be always sufficient to bridle and restrain that
 kind of enormity no man can warrant. Insufficiency of laws
 doth sometimes come by want of judgment in the makers.
 Which cause cannot fall into any law termed properly and
 immediately divine, as it may and doth into human laws often.
 But that which hath been once most sufficient may wax other-
 wise by alteration of time and place; that punishment which
 hath been sometime forcible to bridle sin may grow afterwards
 too weak and feeble.

[4.] In a word, we plainly perceive by the difference of
 those three laws which the Jews received at the hands of God,
 the moral, ceremonial, and judicial, that if the end for which
 and the matter according whereunto God maketh his laws
 continue always one and the same, his laws also do the like;
 for which cause the moral law cannot be altered: secondly,
 that whether the matter whereon laws are made continue or
 continue not, if their end have once ceased, they cease also to
 be of force; as in the law ceremonial it fareth: finally, that
 albeit the end continue, as in that law of theft specified and
 in a great part of those ancient judicials it doth; yet foras-
 much as there is not in all respects the same subject or
 matter remaining for which they were first instituted, even
 this is sufficient cause of change: and therefore laws, though
 both ordained of God himself, and the end for which they
 were ordained continuing, may notwithstanding cease, if by
 alteration of persons or times they be found insufficient to
 attain unto that end. In which respect why may we not
 presume that God doth even call for such change or altera-
 tion as the very condition of things themselves doth make
 necessary?

¹ [Exod. xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xii. 6]
 C C 2

BOOK III. [5.] They which do therefore plead the authority of the
Ch. x. 2, 4, 5. law-maker as an argument, wherefore it should not be lawful
 to change that which he hath instituted, and will have this
 the cause why all the ordinances of our Saviour are immutable;
 they which urge the wisdom of God as a proof, that whatso-
 ever laws he hath made they ought to stand, unless himself
 from heaven proclaim them disannulled, because it is not in
 man to correct the ordinance of God; may know, if it please
 them to take notice thereof, that we are far from presuming
 to think that men can better any thing which God hath done,
 even as we are from thinking that men should presume to
 undo some things of men, which God doth know they cannot
 better. God never ordained any thing that could be bettered.
 Yet many things he hath that have been changed, and that
 for the better. That which succeedeth as better now when
 change is requisite, had been worse when that which now is
 changed was instituted. Otherwise God had not then left this
 to choose that, neither would now reject that to choose this,
 were it not for some new-grown occasion making that which
 hath been better worse. In this case therefore men do not
 presume to change God's ordinance, but they yield thereunto
 requiring itself to be changed.

[6.] Against this it is objected, that to abrogate or innovate
 the Gospel of Christ if men or angels should attempt, it were
 most heinous and cursed sacrilege. And the Gospel (as they
 say) containeth not only doctrine instructing men how they
 should believe, but also precepts concerning the regiment of
 the Church. Discipline therefore is "a part of the Gospel";¹
 and God being the author of the whole Gospel, as well of
 discipline as of doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them
 "have a common cause." So that as we are to believe for
 ever the articles of evangelical doctrine, so the precepts of
 discipline we are in like sort bound for ever to observe.

[7.] Touching points of doctrine, as for example, the Unity

¹ We offer to shew the disci-
 pline to be a part of the Gospel,
 "and therefore to have a common
 cause; so that in the repulse of
 "a check." And again, "I speak
 "of the discipline as of a part of the
 "Gospel, and therefore neither under
 "nor above the Gospel, but the
 "Gospel." T. C. lib. ii. p. 1, 4.
 [These latter words are in p. 5, but
 in p. 4 are the following: "The
 "discipline being as it is proposi-
 "ed, and offered to be proved, a
 "part of the Gospel, must needs arm
 "the Lord against the refuser."]

of God, the Trinity of Persons, salvation by Christ, the resurrection of the body, life everlasting, the judgment to come, and such like, they have been since the first hour that there was a Church in the world, and till the last they must be believed. But as for matters of regiment, they are for the most part of another nature. To make new articles of faith and doctrine no man thinketh it lawful; new laws of government what commonwealth or church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? "The rule of faith," saith Tertullian, "is but one, and that alone immoveable and impossible to be framed or cast anew." The law of outward order and polity not so¹. There is no reason in the world wherefore we should esteem it as necessary always to do, as always to believe, the same things; seeing every man knoweth that the matter of faith is constant, the matter contrariwise of action daily changeable, especially the matter of action belonging unto church polity. Neither can I find that men of soundest judgment have any otherwise taught, than that articles of belief, and things which all men must of necessity do to the end they may be saved, are either expressly set down in Scripture, or else plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to discipline and outward polity, the Church hath authority to make canons, laws, and decrees, even as we read that in the Apostles' times it did². Which kind of laws (forasmuch as they are not in themselves necessary to salvation) may after they are made be also changed as the difference of times or places shall require. Yea, it is not denied I am sure by themselves, that certain things in discipline are of that nature, as they may be varied by times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Whereupon I demand, are those changeable points of discipline commanded in the word of God or no? If they be not commanded and yet may be

¹ Tert. de Veland. Virg. c. 1. "salutem ipsius, et cultum Dei.
² Mart. [i. e. Peter Martyr] in "Sed sunt alia, que tantum perti-
 1 Sam. xiv. [1] Postquam ait, licere nent ad externam disciplinam: . . .
 "Ecclesie scribere sibi aut ca- "Iurarum legum, facta esse debet
 "nones, aut leges, aut decreta, aut "redificatio et elevatio. Quoniam
 "sanctiones, aut quocunque ea velis "autem necessarie non sunt, pro-
 "nomine appellas. Est enim Ec- "temporari et locorum ratione mu-
 "clesia ceteris, et regi debet verbo "tari possunt."]
 "Dei, preterim quod attinet ad ³ Actis xv.

390 *Immutability if granted would tell against Puritanism.*

BOOK III received in the Church, how can their former position stand,
Ch. x. l. condemning all things in the Church which in the word are
----- not commanded? If they be commanded and yet may suffer
change, how can this latter stand, affirming all things im-
mutable which are commanded of God? Their distinction
touching matters of substance and of circumstance, though
true, will not serve. For be they great things or be they small,
if God have commanded them in the Gospel, and his com-
manding them in the Gospel do make them unchangeable,
there is no reason we should more change the one than we
may the other. If the authority of the maker do prove un-
changeableness in the laws which God hath made, then must
all laws which he hath made be necessarily for ever per-
manent, though they be but of circumstance only and not of
substance. I therefore conclude, that neither God's being
author of laws for government of his Church, nor his com-
mitting them unto Scripture, is any reason sufficient where-
fore all churches should for ever be bound to keep them
without change.

[8] But of one thing we are here to give them warning by
the way. For whereas in this discourse we have oftentimes
professed that many parts of discipline or church polity are
delivered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we
are driven to confess their discipline to be delivered in Scrip-
ture, and that having no other means to avoid it, we are fain
to argue for the changeableness of laws ordained even by
God himself, as if otherwise theirs of necessity should take
place, and that under which we live be abandoned. There
is no remedy therefore but to abate this error in them, and
directly to let them know, that if they fall into any such
conceit, they do but a little flatter their own cause. As for
us, we think in no respect so highly of it. Our persuasion
is, that no age ever had knowledge of it but only ours; that
they which defend it devised it; that neither Christ nor his
Apostles at any time taught it, but the contrary. If there-
fore we did seek to maintain that which most advantageth
our own cause, the very best way for us and the strongest
against them were to hold even as they do, that in Scripture
there must needs be found some particular form of church
polity which God hath instituted, and which for that very

cause belongeth to all churches, to all times¹. But with any such partial eye to respect ourselves, and by cunning to make those things seem the truest which are the fittest to serve our purpose, is a thing which we neither like nor mean to follow. Wherefore that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutability of laws, the same we have plainly delivered, as being persuaded of nothing more than we are of this, that whether it be in matter of speculation or of practice, no untruth² can possibly avail the patron and defender long, and that things most truly are likewise most behovefully spoken.

XI. This we hold and grant for truth, that those very laws which of their own nature are changeable, be notwithstanding incapable of change, if he which gave them, being of authority so to do, forbid absolutely to change them; neither may they admit alteration against the will of such a law-maker. ^{Whether} ^{Christ have} ^{forbidden} ^{all change} ^{of those} ^{laws which} ^{are set} ^{down in} ^{Scripture.} Albeit therefore we do not find any cause why of right there should be necessarily an immutable form set down in holy Scripture; nevertheless if indeed there have been at any time a church polity so set down, the change whereof the sacred Scripture doth forbid, surely for men to alter those laws which God for perpetuity hath established were presumption most intolerable.

[2.] To prove therefore that the will of Christ was to establish laws so permanent and immutable that in any sort to alter them cannot but highly offend God, thus they reason. First³, if Moses, being but a servant in the house of God,

¹ "Disciplina est Christianæ Ecclesie. Politia, a Deo ejus recte administrandæ causa constituta, ac propterea ex ejus verbo petenda, et ab eodem causam omnium ecclesiarum communis et omnium temporum." Lib. de Eccles. Discip. in Anal. [See also p. 9.]
² "Ἐπισημασθε οὐδὲν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ εἶναι λέγουσιν οὐ ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἀλλοίωσιν ἐπισημασθε εἴπω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπισημασθε. Ἐπισημασθε γὰρ δεῖνα Ἰησοῦς, μετρησέναι. Αἰνῆ, Ἠθικ. lib. x. cap. 1.
³ Heb. iii. 6. "Either that commendation of the son before the servant is a false testimony, or the son ordained a permanent government in the Church. If perma-

ment, then not to be changed. "What then do they, that [not only] hold it may be changed at the magistrate's pleasure, but advise the magistrate by his positive laws to proclaim, that it is his will, that if there shall be a church within his dominions, he will main and deform the same?" M. M. [Martin Marprelate, "Hast ye any work for a Cooper?"] p. 16. "He that was as faithful as Moses, left as clear instruction for the government of the Church: "But Christ was as faithful as Moses: Ergo? Demonst. of Ducip. cap. 1. (p. 3). See also Theses Martinianæ, 5th Thesis. "If Christ did not ordain a church

BOOK III
Ch. 4. 3

did therein establish laws of government for perpetuity, laws which they that were of the household might not alter; shall we admit into our thoughts, that the Son of God hath in providing for this his household declared himself less faithful than Moses? Moses delivering unto the Jews such laws as were durable, if those be changeable which Christ hath delivered unto us, we are not able to avoid it, but (that which to think were heinous impiety) we of necessity must confess even the Son of God himself to have been less faithful than Moses. Which argument shall need no touchstone to try it by but some other of the like making. Moses erected in the wilderness a tabernacle which was moveable from place to place; Salomon a sumptuous and stately temple which was not moveable: therefore Salomon was faithfuller than Moses, which no man endued with reason will think. And yet by this reason it doth plainly follow.

He that will see how faithful the one or the other was, must compare the things which they both did unto the charge which God gave each of them. The Apostle in making comparison between our Saviour and Moses attributeth faithfulness unto both, and maketh this difference between them; Moses *in*, but Christ *over* the house of God; Moses in that house which was *his by charge and commission*, though to govern it, yet to govern it *as a servant*; but Christ over this house as being *his own entire possession*.

[3.] Our Lord and Saviour doth make protestation, "I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me!" Faithful therefore he was, and concealed not any part of his Father's will. But did any part of that will require the immutability of laws concerning church polity? They answer, Yea. For else God should less favour us than the Jews¹. God would not have their church guided by any laws but his

¹government which at the pleasure
of man cannot be changed, then
"he is inferior unto Moses: for the
government placed by him might
"no man alter, and thereto might
"no man add any thing. Heb. iii.
"2, 3." Eccl. Disc. fol. 7. "Ne
"illum aliqua parte propheticæ ma-
"neris spoliemus, aut servum,
"quatuorvis Editem, unigenito
"Filio, et tanquam Eliserum

"Isaaco in paterna domo prefera-
"mus." Counterpoison, p. 9. Pen-
"ry's Appellation to the High Court
of Parliament, p. 18.]
² John xvii. 8.
³ "Either God hath left a pre-
"scripte form of government now,
"or else he is less careful under the
"New Testament than under the
"Old." Demonst. of Disc. cap. i.
[T. C. i. 62. ap. Whig. Def. 304.]

BOOK III: worse than for theirs? To us notwithstanding he hath not as to them delivered any particular form of temporal regiment, unless perhaps we think, as some do, that the grafting of the Gentiles¹ and their incorporating into Israel² doth import that we ought to be subject unto the rites and laws of their whole polity. We see then how weak such disputes are, and how smally they make to this purpose.

[5.] That Christ did not mean to set down particular positive laws for all things in such sort as Moses did, the very different manner of delivering the laws of Moses and the laws of Christ doth plainly shew. Moses had commandment to gather the ordinances of God together distinctly, and orderly to set them down according unto their several kinds, for each public duty and office the laws that belong thereto, as appeareth in the books themselves, written of purpose for that end. Contrariwise the laws of Christ we find rather mentioned by occasion in the writings of the Apostles, than any solem thing directly written to comprehend them in legal sort.

[6.] Again, the positive laws which Moses gave, they were given for the greatest part with restraint to the land of Jewry: "Behold," saith Moses, "I have taught you ordinances and laws, as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye should do even so within the land whither ye go to possess it."³ Which laws and ordinances positive he plainly distinguisheth afterward from the laws of the Two Tables which were moral⁴. "The Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire; ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude, only a voice. Then he declared unto you his covenant which he commanded you to do, the Ten Commandments, and wrote them upon two tables of stone. And the Lord commanded me that same time, that I should teach you ordinances and laws which ye should observe in the land whither ye go to possess it." The same difference is again set down in the next chapter following. For rehearsal being made of the Ten Commandments, it followeth immediately⁵, "These words the Lord spake unto all your multitude in the mount out of the midst of the fire, the cloud, and the darkness, with a great voice, and added no

¹ Rom. xi. 17. ² Ephes. ii. 12-16. ³ Deut. iv. 5.
⁴ Deut. iv. 12-14. ⁵ Deut. v. 22.

The Law Positive was relative to Things as they were. 395

"more; and wrote them upon two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me." But concerning other laws, the people give their consent to receive them at the hands of Moses¹: "Go thou near, and hear all that the Lord our God saith, and declare thou unto us all that the Lord our God saith unto thee, and we will hear it and do it." The people's alacrity herein God highly commendeth with most effectual and hearty speech²: "I have heard the voice of the words of this people; they have spoken well. O that there were such an heart in them to fear me, and to keep all my commandments always, that it might go well with them and with their children for ever! Go, say unto them, 'Return you to your tents;' but stand thou here with me, and I will tell thee all the commandments and the ordinances and the laws which thou shalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I have given them to possess." From this later kind the former are plainly distinguished in many things. They were not both at one time delivered, neither both after one sort, nor to one end. The former uttered by the voice of God himself in the hearing of six hundred thousand men; the former written with the finger of God; the former termed by the name of a Covenant; the former given to be kept without either mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other side, the later given after, and neither written by God himself, nor given unto the whole multitude immediately from God, but unto Moses, and from him to them both by word and writing; the later termed Ceremonies, Judgments, Ordinances, but no where Covenants; finally, the observation of the later restrained unto the land where God would establish them to inhabit.

The laws positive are not framed without regard had to the place and persons for which they are made. If therefore Almighty God in framing their laws had an eye unto the nature of that people, and to the country where they were to dwell; if these peculiar and proper considerations were respected in the making of their laws, and must be also regarded in the positive laws of all other nations besides: then seeing that nations are not all alike, surely the giving of one kind of positive laws unto one only people, without any liberty to

¹ Deut. v. 27.

² Deut. v. 28-31.

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CH. XLV. 1, 2

alter them, is but a slender proof, that therefore one kind should in like sort be given to serve everlastingly for all.

[7.] But that which most of all maketh for the clearing of this point is, that the Jews¹, who had laws so particularly determining and so fully instructing them in all affairs what to do, were notwithstanding continually inured with causes exorbitant, and such as their laws had not provided for. And in this point much more is granted us than we ask, namely, that for one thing which we have left to the order of the Church, they had twenty which were undecided by the express word of God; and that as their ceremonies and sacraments were multiplied above ours, even so grew the number of those cases which were not determined by any express word. So that if we may devise one law, they by this reason might devise twenty; and if their devising so many were not forbidden, shall their example prove us forbidden to devise as much as one law for the ordering of the Church? We might not devise no not one, if their example did prove that our Saviour had utterly forbidden all alteration of his laws; inasmuch as there can be no law devised, but needs it must either take away from his, or add thereunto more or less, and so make some kind of alteration. But of this so large a grant we are content not to take advantage. Men are oftentimes in a sudden passion more liberal than they would be if they had leisure to take advice. And therefore so bountiful words of course and frank speeches we are contented to let pass, without turning them unto advantage with too much rigour.

[8.] It may be they had rather be listened unto, when they commend the kings of Israel² which attempted nothing in the government of the Church without the express word of "God³," and when they urge³ that God left nothing in his word "undescribed," whether it concerned the worship of God or outward polity, nothing unset down, and therefore

¹ "Whereas you say, that they (the Jews) had nothing but what was determined by the law, and we have many things undetermined and left to the order of the Church; I will offer, for one that you shall bring that we have left to the order of the Church, to shew you that they had twenty which were undecided by the express word of God." T. C. lib. i. p. 35. [21].
² T. C. in the table to his second book.
³ If he will needs separate the worship of God from the external polity, yet as the Lord set forth the case, so he left nothing undescribed in the other." T. C. lib. ii. p. 446.



charged them strictly to keep themselves unto that, without any alteration. Howbeit, seeing it cannot be denied, but that many things there did belong unto the course of their public affairs, wherein they had no express word at all to shew precisely what they should do; the difference between their condition and ours in these cases will bring some light unto the truth of this present controversy. Before the fact of the son of Shelomith, there was no law which did appoint any certain punishment for blasphemers¹. That wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that impiety, was held in ward, till the mind of the Lord were known concerning his case. The like practice is also mentioned upon occasion of a breach of the Sabbath² day. They find a poor silly creature gathering sticks in the wilderness, they bring him unto Moses and Aaron and all the congregation, they lay him in hold, because it was not declared what should be done with him, till God had said unto Moses, "This man shall die the death³." The law required to keep the Sabbath; but for the breach of the Sabbath what punishment should be inflicted it did not appoint. Such occasions as these are rare. And for such things as do fall scarce once in many ages of men, it did suffice to take such order as was requisite when they fell. But if the case were such as being not already determined by law were notwithstanding likely oftentimes to come in question, it gave occasion of adding laws that were not before. Thus it fell out in the case of those men polluted⁴, and of the daughters of Zelophehad⁵, whose causes Moses having brought before the Lord, received laws to serve for the like in time to come. The Jews to this end had the Oracle of God, they had the Prophets: and by such means God himself instructed them from heaven what to do, in all things that did greatly concern their state and were not already set down in the Law. Shall we then hereupon argue even against our own experience and knowledge? Shall we seek to persuade men that of necessity it is with us as it was with them; that because God is ours in all respects as much as theirs, therefore either no such way of direction hath been at any time, or if it have been, it doth still continue in the Church; or if the same

¹ Levit. xxiv. 12. ² ["Sabbath," A. B.] ³ Numb. xv. 31-35.
⁴ Numb. ix. ⁵ Numb. xxvii.

BOOK III do not continue, that yet it must be at the least supplied by
 CH. XLV. some such mean as pleaseth us to account of equal force?

A more dutiful and religious way for us were to admire the wisdom of God, which shineth in the beautiful variety of all things, but most in the manifold and yet harmonious dissimilitude of those ways, whereby his Church upon earth is guided from age to age, throughout all generations of men.

[9.] The Jews were necessarily to continue till the coming of Christ in the flesh, and the gathering of nations unto him. So much the promise made unto Abraham¹ did import. So much the prophecy of Jacob at the hour of his death did foreshew². Upon the safety therefore of their very outward state and condition for so long, the after-good of the whole world and the salvation of all did depend. Unto their so long safety, for two things it was necessary to provide; namely, the preservation of their state against foreign resistance, and the continuance of their peace within themselves.

Touching the one, as they received the promise of God to be the rock of their defence, against which whoso did violently rush should but bruise and batter themselves; so likewise they had his commandment in all their affairs that way to seek direction and counsel from him. Men's consultations are always perilous. And it falleth out many times that after long deliberation those things are by their wit even resolved on, which by trial are found most opposite to public safety. It is no impossible thing for states, be they never so well established, yet by oversight in some one act or treaty between them and their potent opposites³ utterly to cast away themselves for ever. Wherefore lest it should so fall out to them upon whom so much did depend, they were not permitted to enter into war, nor conclude any league of peace, nor to wade through any act of moment between them and foreign states, unless the Oracle of God or his Prophets were first consulted with.

And lest domestical disturbance should waste them within themselves, because there was nothing unto this purpose more effectual, than if the authority of their laws and governors were such, as none might presume to take exception against it, or to shew disobedience unto it, without incurring the

¹ Gen. xviii. 18. ² Gen. xlix. 10.
³ [Comp. Hamlet, v. 2. 62, "mighty opposites."] 1886.

hatred and detestation of all men that had any spark of the
 fear of God; therefore he gave them even their positive laws
 from heaven, and as oft as occasion required chose in like sort
 rulers also to lead and govern them. Notwithstanding some
 desperately impious there were, which adventured to try what
 harm it could bring upon them, if they did attempt to be
 authors of confusion, and to resist both governors and laws.
 Against such monsters God maintained his own by fearful
 execution of extraordinary judgment upon them.

By which means it came to pass, that although they were
 a people infested and mightily hated of all others through-
 out the world, although by nature hard-hearted, querulous,
 wrathful, and impatient of rest and quietness; yet was there
 nothing of force either one way or other to work the ruin and
 subversion of their state, till the time before-mentioned was
 expired. Thus we see that there was not no cause of dis-
 similitude in these things between that one only people before
 Christ, and the kingdoms of the world since.

[10.] And whereas it is further alleged³ that albeit "in
 " civil matters and things pertaining to this present life God
 " hath used a greater particularity with them than amongst
 " us, framing laws according to the quality of that people and
 " country; yet the leaving of us at greater liberty in things
 " civil is so far from proving the like liberty in things pertain-
 " ing to the kingdom of heaven, that it rather proves a straiter
 " bond. For even as when the Lord would have his favour
 " more appear by temporal blessings of this life towards the
 " people under the Law than towards us, he gave also politic
 " laws most exactly, whereby they might both most easily
 " come into and most steadfastly remain in possession of those
 " earthly benefits: even so at this time, wherein he would
 " not have his favour so much esteemed by those outward
 " commodities, it is required, that as his care in prescribing
 " laws for that purpose hath somewhat fallen in leaving them
 " to men's consultations which may be deceived, so his care
 " for conduct and government of the life to come should (if it
 " were possible) rise, in leaving less to the order of men than
 " in times past." These are but weak and feeble disputes
 for the inference of that conclusion which is intended. For

³ T. C. 1b. ii. p. 440.

BOOK III saving only in such consideration as hath been shewed, there
 Ch. XI. is no cause wherefore we should think God more desirous to
 manifest his favour by temporal blessings towards them than
 towards us. Godliness had unto them, and it hath also unto
 us, the promises both of this life and the life to come. That
 the care of God hath fallen in earthly things, and therefore
 should rise as much in heavenly; that more is left unto men's
 consultations in the one, and therefore less must be granted
 in the other; that God, having used a greater particularity
 with them than with us for matters pertaining unto this life,
 is to make us amends by the more exact delivery of laws
 for government of the life to come: these are proportions,
 whereof if there be any rule, we must plainly confess that
 which truth is, we know it not. God which spake unto them
 by his Prophets, hath unto us by his only-begotten Son;
 those mysteries of grace and salvation which were but darkly
 disclosed unto them, have unto us most clearly shined. Such dif-
 ferences between them and us the Apostles of Christ have well
 acquainted us withal. But as for matter belonging to the out-
 ward conduct or government of the Church, seeing that even in
 sense it is manifest that our Lord and Saviour hath not by pos-
 sive laws descended so far into particularities with us as Moses
 with them, neither doth by extraordinary means, oracles, and
 prophets, direct us as them he did in those things which rising
 daily by new occasions are of necessity to be provided for; doth it
 not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to
 us there should be freedom and liberty granted to make laws?
 [11.] Yea, but the Apostle St. Paul doth fearfully charge
 Timothy¹, even "in the sight of God who quickeneth all,
¹ [See Eccl. Disc. fol. 20. "Sed
 "universum hunc locum de disci-
 "pulis a Deo protectis, et prophetica
 "immobili atque perpetua, et om-
 "nium ecclesiarum communi, gra-
 "tiam illam Pauli ad Timotheum
 "de eadem conservanda obtentione
 "concludamus. Qui quom disci-
 "pulum suum omnem domus Dei,
 "que est Ecclesia, administrandae
 "rationem doceat. "Denucia-
 "ti. i. e. sibi, in conspectu Dei
 "dicitur qui vivificat omnia, et Jesu
 "Christi, qui preclaram illam con-
 "fessionem Pontio Pilato professus
 "est, ut haec mandata sine labe et
 "sine reprehensione custodias usque
 "ad apparitionem Domini nostri
 "Jesu Christi." &c. que gravissimis
 "verbis Apostolus persecutus est.
 "Unde primo colligimus, disciplinae
 "quam ex epistola Pauli tradidisset,
 "Deum omnipotentem auctorem
 "esse, et Servatorem nostram Jesum
 "Christum: ut qui ejusdem violatae
 "vultores et vindices significantur,
 "Tum constantem esse atque immu-
 "tabilem, que nulla hominum neque
 "gratia variari, neque auctoritate
 "frangi debeat: cum non solum
 "ἀνεκεί κεί ἐπαγγελία appelletur,
 "sed jubetur etiam ἀνεκεί κεί

"and of Jesus Christ who witnessed that famous confession "before Pontius Pilate¹, to keep what was commanded him "safe and sound till the appearance of our Lord Jesus "Christ²." This doth exclude all liberty of changing the laws of Christ, whether by abrogation or addition, or howsoever. For in Timothy the whole Church of Christ receiveth charge concerning her duty; and that charge is to keep the Apostle's commandment; and his commandment did contain the laws that concerned church government; and those laws he straitly requireth to be observed without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In Scripture we grant every one man's lesson to be the common instruction of all men, so far forth as their cases are like; and that religiously to keep the Apostle's commandments in whatsoever they may concern us we all stand bound. But touching that commandment which Timothy was charged with, we swerve undoubtedly from the Apostle's precise meaning if we extend it so largely, that the arms thereof shall reach unto all things which were commanded him by the Apostle. The very words themselves do restrain themselves unto some one especial commandment among many. And therefore it is not said, "Keep the ordinances, laws, and "constitutions, which thou hast received;" but *τὴν ἐντολήν*, "that great commandment, which doth principally concern "thee and thy calling;" that commandment which Christ did so often inculcate unto Peter³; that commandment unto the careful discharge whereof they of Ephesus are exhorted, "Attend to yourselves, and to all the flock wherein the Holy "Ghost hath placed you Bishops, to feed the Church of God, "which he hath purchased by his own blood⁴;" finally that commandment which unto the same Timothy is by the same Apostle even in the same form and manner afterwards again urged, "I charge thee in the sight of God and the Lord "Jesus Christ, which will judge the quick and dead at his "appearance and in his kingdom, *preach the word of God*,"

¹ *ἀνεκδότου* conservari. Postremo "Domini nostri Jesu Christi con-
"non certi alicujus temporis pre- "servetur."
"ceptum esse, sed perpetuum, et "John xviii. 36, 37.
"quod ad omnia Ecclesie tempora "1 Tim. vi. 13, 14.
"pertinet; quum tam discreti pre- "John xxi. 15. "Acts xx. 28.
"ceptum sit, ut usque in adventum "1 Tim. iv. 1.

BOOK III.
Ch. vi. 10.

When Timothy was instituted into the office, then was the credit and trust of this duty committed unto his faithful care. The doctrine of the Gospel was then given him, "as the precious talent or treasure of Jesus Christ¹," then received he for performance of this duty "the special gift of the Holy Ghost²." "To keep this commandment immaculate and "blameless" was to teach the Gospel of Christ without mixture of corrupt and unsound doctrine, such as a number did even in those times intermingle with the mysteries of Christian belief. "Till the appearance of Christ to keep it so," doth not import the time wherein it should be kept, but rather the time whereunto the final reward for keeping it was reserved: according to that of St. Paul concerning himself, "I have kept the faith; for the residue there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous shall in that day render unto me³." If they that labour in this harvest should respect but the present fruit of their painful travel, a poor encouragement it were unto them to continue therein all the days of their life. But their reward is great in heaven; the crown of righteousness which shall be given them in that day is honourable. The fruit of their industry then shall they reap with full contentment and satisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatness of their reward is abundantly sufficient to countervail the tediousness of their expectation. Wherefore till then, they that are in labour must rest in hope. "O Timothy, keep that which is committed unto thy charge; that great commandment which thou hast received keep, till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ."

In which sense although we judge the Apostle's words to have been uttered, yet hereunto we do not require them to yield, that think any other construction more sound. If therefore it be rejected, and theirs esteemed more probable which hold, that the last words do import perpetual observation of the Apostle's commandment imposed necessarily for ever upon the militant Church of Christ; let them withal consider, that then his commandment cannot so largely be taken, as to comprehend whatsoever the Apostle did command Timothy. For themselves do not all bind the Church unto

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 20. *εφη μακαροδωρον.* ² 1 Tim. iv. 14. ³ 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

some things whereof Timothy received charge, as namely unto that precept concerning the choice of widows¹. So as they cannot hereby maintain that all things positively commanded concerning the affairs of the Church were commanded for perpetuity. And we do not deny that certain things were commanded to be though positive yet perpetual in the Church.

[12.] They should not therefore urge against us places that seem to forbid change, but rather such as set down some measure of alteration, which measure if we have exceeded, then might they therewith charge us justly: whereas now they themselves both granting, and also using liberty to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ delivered no inconvenient or unmeet laws: sundry of ours they hold inconvenient: therefore such laws they cannot possibly hold to be Christ's: being not his, they must of necessity grant them added unto his. Yet certain of those very laws so added they themselves do not judge unlawful; as they plainly confess both in matter of prescript attire and of rites appertaining to burial. Their own protestations are, that they plead against the inconvenience, not the unlawfulness of popish apparel²; and against the inconvenience not the unlawfulness of ceremonies in burial. Therefore they hold it a thing not unlawful to add to the laws of Jesus Christ; and so consequently they yield that no law of Christ forbiddeth addition unto church laws.

[13.] The judgment of Calvin being alleged³ against them,

¹ [1 Tim. v. 9. See T. C. i. 133. al. 10.] Whig. Def. 503.]
² My reasons do sever conclude
 "the unlawfulness of these ceremonies of burial, but the inconvenience and inspedience of them."
 T. C. lib. iii. p. 241. And in the table. "Of the inconveniences, not of the unlawfulness, of popish apparel and ceremonies in burial."
³ [By Archbishop Whigitt: see Answer, p. 25-29, and Def. 109-113. The passage from Calvin is the following: "Quia Dominus... quicquid ad salutem necessarium erat, sacris suis oraculis tum fideliter complexus est, tum peritiose erravit, in his solus magister est audiendus. Quia autem in externa disciplina et ceremoniis non voluit sigillatim prescribere quid sequi debeamus, quod istud praevident, neque judicaret unam aequalis omnibus firmam convenientiam, confugere hic oportet ad generales, quas dedit, regulas; ut ad eas exigantur, quatenus ad ordinem et decorum praecipue cessitas Ecclesiae postulabat." Institut. c. xiii. § 21, ed. 1559, or lib. iv. c. x. § 30, according to the present arrangement. All Whigitt's quotations from the Institution specify chapter and section only. The division of the work into books first took place in the edition of 1559; and Whigitt used an earlier copy. See Def. 391. 108.]

BOOK III. to whom of all men they attribute most¹; whereas his words
Ch. xl. 13. be plain, that for ceremonies and external discipline the
 Church hath power to make laws: the answer which here-
 unto they make is, that indefinitely the speech is true, and
 that so it was meant by him; namely, that some things be-
 longing unto external discipline and ceremonies are in the
 power and arbitrement of the Church; but neither was it
 meant, neither is it true generally, that all external discipline
 and all ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, inas-
 much as the sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord
 are ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abro-
 gate. Again, Excommunication is a part of external discipline,
 which might also be cast away, if all external discipline were
 arbitrary and in the choice of the Church.

By which their answer it doth appear, that touching the
 names of ceremony and external discipline they gladly would
 have us so understood, as if we did herein contain a great
 deal more than we do. The fault which we find with them
 is, that they overmuch abridge the Church of her power in
 these things. Whereupon they recharge us, as if in these
 things we gave the Church a liberty which hath no limits or
 bounds; as if all things which the name of discipline contain-
 eth were of the Church's free choice; so that we might either
 have church governess and government or want them, either
 retain or reject church censures as we list. They wonder at
 us, as at men which think it so indifferent what the Church
 doth in matter of ceremonies, that it may be feared lest we
 judge the very Sacraments themselves to be held at the
 Church's pleasure.

¹ Upon the indefinite speaking
 of M. Calvin, saying, 'ceremonies
 and external discipline,' without
 adding 'all' or 'some,' you go
 about subtly to make men be-
 lieve, that M. Calvin had placed
 the whole external discipline in
 the power and arbitrement of the
 Church. For if all external disci-
 pline were arbitrary, and in the
 choice of the Church, excommuni-
 cation also (which is a part of it)
 might be cast away; which I think
 you will not say. And in the very
 next words before. "Where you
 would give to understand that
 ceremonies and external discipline
 are not prescribed particularly by
 the word of God, and therefore
 left to the order of the Church;
 you must understand that all ex-
 ternal discipline is not left to the
 order of the Church, being particu-
 larly prescribed in the Scriptures;
 so more than all ceremonies are
 left to the order of the Church, as
 the Sacrament of Baptism, and
 the Supper of the Lord." T. C. lib. i.
 p. 33. [and 33, al. 19. Whingf. Def.
 111.]



No, the name of ceremonies we do not use in so large a meaning as to bring Sacraments within the compass and reach thereof, although things belonging unto the outward form and seemly administration of them are contained in that name, even as we use it. For the name of ceremonies we use as they themselves do, when they speak after this sort: "The doctrine and discipline of the Church, as the weightiest things, ought especially to be looked unto; but the ceremonies also, as mint and cummin, ought not to be neglected¹." Besides, in the matter of external discipline or regiment itself, we do not deny but there are some things whereto the church is bound till the world's end. So as the question is only how far the bounds of the Church's liberty do reach. We hold, that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make laws and orders for itself doth extend unto sundry things of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and such other matters, whereto their opinion is that the Church's authority and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in disputing against us about this point, they take their compass a great deal wider than the truth of things can afford; producing reasons and arguments by way of generality, to prove that Christ hath set down all things belonging any way unto the form of ordering his Church, and hath absolutely forbidden change by addition or diminution, great or small: (for so their manner of disputing is;) we are constrained to make our defence, by shewing that Christ hath not deprived his Church so far of all liberty in making orders and laws for itself, and that they themselves do not think he hath so done. For are they able to shew that all particular customs, rites, and orders of reformed churches have been appointed by Christ himself? No: they grant that in matter of circumstance they alter that which they have received², but in things of substance, they keep the laws of Christ without change. If we say the same in our own behalf (which surely we may do with a great deal more truth) then must they cancel all that hath been before alleged, and begin to inquire afresh, whether we retain the

BOOK III.

Ch. xl. 13.

¹ T. C. lib. iii. p. 171. ² by times, places, persons, and
³ "We deny not but certain "other circumstances, and so could
things are left to the order of the "not at once be set down and
Church, because they are of the "established for ever." T. C. lib. i.
nature of those which are varied p. 27. [13.]

BOOK III. laws that Christ hath delivered concerning matters of substance, yea or no. For our constant persuasion in this point is as theirs, that we have no where altered the laws of Christ farther than in such particularities only as have the nature of things changeable according to the difference of times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Christ hath commanded prayers to be made, sacraments to be ministered, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning every of these somewhat Christ hath commanded which must be kept till the world's end. On the contrary side, in every of them somewhat there may be added, as the Church shall judge it expedient. So that if they will speak to purpose, all which hitherto hath been disputed of they must give over, and stand upon such particulars only as they can shew we have either added or abrogated otherwise than we ought, in the matter of church polity. Whatsoever Christ hath commanded for ever to be kept in his Church, the same we take not upon us to abrogate; and whatsoever our laws have thereunto added besides, of such quality we hope it is as no law of Christ doth any where condemn.

[14.] Wherefore that all may be laid together and gathered into a narrower room: First, so far forth as the Church is the mystical body of Christ and his invisible spouse, it needeth no external polity. That very part of the law divine which teacheth faith and works of righteousness is itself alone sufficient for the Church of God in that respect. But as the Church is a visible society and body politic, laws of polity it cannot want¹.

[15.] Secondly: Whereas therefore it cometh in the second place to be inquired, what laws are fittest and best for the Church; they who first embraced that rigorous and strict opinion, which depriveth the Church of liberty to make any kind of law for herself, inclined as it should seem thereunto, for that they imagined all things which the Church doth without commandment of Holy Scripture subject to that reproof which the Scripture itself useth in certain cases² when divine authority ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kind of order whatsoever, to say, "The word of God teacheth it not, it is a device of

¹ [See above, ch. 1.]

² Isa. xxi. 14; Col. ii. 22.

"the brain of man, away with it therefore out of the Church!"¹ BOOK III.
 St. Augustine was of another mind, who speaking of fasts on CH. XI. 14.
 the Sunday saith², "That he which would choose out that
 "day to fast on, should give thereby no small offence to the
 "Church of God, which had received a contrary custom.
 "For in these things, whereof the Scripture appointeth no
 "certainty, the use of the people of God or the ordinances of
 "our fathers must serve for a law. In which case if we will
 "dispute, and condemn one sort by another's custom, it will
 "be but matter of endless contention; where, forasmuch as
 "the labour of reasoning shall hardly beat into men's heads
 "any certain or necessary truth, surely it standeth us upon
 "to take heed, lest with the tempest of strife the brightness
 "of charity and love be darkened."

If all things must be commanded of God which may be
 practised of his Church, I would know what commandment
 the Gileadites had to erect that altar which is spoken of in the
 Book of Josua³. Did not congruity of reason induce them
 thereunto, and suffice for defence of their fact? I would know
 what commandment the women of Israel had yearly to mourn
 and lament in the memory of Jephtha's daughter⁴; what
 commandment the Jews had to celebrate their feast of Dedi-
 cation, never spoken of in the law, yet solemnized even by
 our Saviour himself⁵; what commandment finally they had
 for the ceremony of odours used about the bodies of the dead,
 after which custom notwithstanding (sith it was their custom)
 our Lord was contented that his own most precious body
 should be entombed⁶. Wherefore to reject all orders of the
 Church which men have established, is to think worse of the
 laws of men in this respect, than either the judgment of wise
 men alloweth, or the law of God itself will bear.

[16.] Howbeit they which had once taken upon them to

¹ [See above, ch. ii. 1.] "tudine alios improbare, oritur
² August. Ep. 86. [al. 96, t. ii. 68.] "interminata luctatio: que labore
 "Quisquis hunc diem jejuniu decer- "sermocinationis cum certa docu-
 "endum putaverit, . . . non parvo "menta nulla seriatim misurus,
 "scandalo erit Ecclesie: nec in- "utique cavendum est, ne tempus
 "merito. In his enim rebus de "tate contentionis serenitatem cari-
 "quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura "tatis obstat."]
 "divina, mos populi Dei, vel insti- ³ Josh. xvii. 10.
 "tuta majorum pro lege tenenda ⁴ Judges xi. 40.
 "sunt. De quibus si disputare ⁵ John x. 22.
 "vulturimus, et ex aliorum conse- ⁶ John xix. 40.

BOOK III. condemn all things done in the Church and not commanded
 Ch. xl. 25. of God to be done, saw it was necessary for them (continuing
 in defence of this their opinion) to hold that needs there must
 be in Scripture set down a complete particular form of church
 polity, a form prescribing how all the affairs of the Church
 must be ordered, a form in no respect lawful to be altered by
 mortal men¹. For reformation of which oversight and error
 in them, there were that thought it a part of Christian love
 and charity to instruct them better², and to open unto them
 the difference between matters of perpetual necessity to all
 men's salvation, and matters of ecclesiastical polity : the one
 both fully and plainly taught in holy Scripture, the other not
 necessary to be in such sort there prescribed ; the one not
 capable of any diminution or augmentation at all by men, the
 other apt to admit both. Hereupon the authors of the former
 opinion were presently seconded by other wittier and better
 learned³, who being loth that the form of church polity
 which they sought to bring in should be otherwise than in the
 highest degree accounted of, took⁴ first an exception against
 the difference between church polity and matters of necessity
 unto salvation⁵; secondly, against the restraint of Scripture,
 which they say receiveth injury at our hands, when we teach
 that it teacheth not as well matters of polity as of faith and
 salvation⁶. Thirdly, Constrained hereby we have been there-
 fore both to maintain that distinction, as a thing not only true
 in itself, but by them likewise so acknowledged, though un-
 awares⁷; Fourthly, and to make manifest that from Scripture
 we offer not to derogate the least thing that truth thereunto
 doth claim, inasmuch as by us it is willingly confest, that the
 Scripture of God is a storehouse abounding with inestimable

¹ [1 Admon. to the Parl, fol. 1. ap. Whig. Def. 76. " Seeing that " "ansing in this mortal life is more " things only, which the Lord him- " self in his word commandeth."] " regiment, but also in bringing in " and placing in God's Church those
² "carefully to be looked unto, than " "the restitution of true religion, " and reformation of God's Church : " it shall be your parts (dearly be- " loved) in this present parliament " assembled, as much as in you lieth " to promote the same, and to em- " ploy your whole labour and study " not only in abandoning all popish " remnants both in ceremonies and
³ [Vide Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition, p. 20-29.]
⁴ [By this it should seem that Hooker did not consider Cartwright himself as one of the authors of the Admonition.]
⁵ [See above, ch. ii. 2.]
⁶ [T. C. i. Reply, p. 14.]
⁷ [T. C. Ibid.]
⁸ [Is ch. iii.]

Recapitulation. *Whitgift's Distinction maintained.* 409

treasures of wisdom and knowledge in many kinds, over and above things in this one kind barely necessary; yea, even that matters of ecclesiastical polity are not therein omitted, but taught also, albeit not so taught as those other things before mentioned¹. For so perfectly are those things taught, that nothing can ever need to be added, nothing ever cease to be necessary; these on the contrary side, as being of a far other nature and quality, not so strictly nor everlastingly commanded in Scripture, but that unto the complete form of church polity much may be requisite which the Scripture teacheth not, and much which it hath taught become un-requisite, sometime because we need not use it, sometime also because we cannot. In which respect for mine own part, although I see that certain reformed churches, the Scottish especially and French, have not that which best agreeth with the sacred Scripture², I mean the government that is by Bishops, inasmuch as both those churches are fallen under a different kind of regiment; which to remedy it is for the one altogether too late, and too soon for the other during their present affliction and trouble³; this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in such case than exagitate, considering that men oftentimes without any fault of their own may be driven to want that kind of polity or regiment which is best, and to content themselves with that, which either the irremediable error of former times, or the necessity of the present hath cast upon them.

¹ [In ch. iv.]
² [Saravia, De diversis Ministrorum Gradibus, Proli. ad Lect. "De hoc novo Ecclesie regenda modo idem censeo, quod alii de Episcoporum regimine judicant; nempe quod si humanus et ferendus, sibi alius melior obtineri non potest: et contra ille qui improbat tanquam humanus nisi videtur esse divinus; utpote qui tam in Veteri quam in Novo Testamento a Deo sit institutus." Sandiffe, False Semblant of counterfeit Discipline detected, p. 8. "We say, that so much as Christ hath appointed to be observed, as that there be pastors to teach, and a certain government, and such like discipline, is diligently to be kept. Where

He hath left it free, there the governors of the Church, i. e. Christian princes and bishops, may set orders and see the same executed: and the orders appointed by Christ, and canons and customs of the Church, we call ecclesiastical discipline: and this we account to be changeable so far forth as is not by Christ commanded to be kept."]
³ [The first part of Hooker's work was licensed to the press, March 9, 1592-3. The affliction meant is therefore the civil war in France, not the secession from protestantism of Henry IV. which was not made known till after June that year. Davila, lib. xii. p. 657, comp. p. 692. Venice, 1692.]

BOOK III. [17.] Fifthly, Now because that position first-mentioned, which holdeth it necessary that all things which the Church may lawfully do in her own regiment be commanded in holy Scripture, hath by the later defenders thereof been greatly qualified; who, though perceiving it to be over extreme, are notwithstanding loth to acknowledge any oversight therein, and therefore labour what they may to salve it by construction; we have for the more perspicuity delivered what was thereby meant at the first¹: sixthly, how injurious a thing it were unto all the churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning²: seventhly, and how imperfect their interpretations are who so much labour to help it, either by dividing commandments of Scripture into two kinds, and so defending that all things must be commanded, if not in special yet in general precepts³: eighthly, or by taking it as meant, that in case the Church do devise any new order, she ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture only, and not any starlight of man's reason⁴. Ninthly, both which evasions being cut off, we have in the next place declared after what sort the Church may lawfully frame to herself laws of polity, and in what reckoning such positive laws both are with God and should be with men⁵. Tenthly, furthermore, because to abridge the liberty of the Church in this behalf, it hath been made a thing very odious, that when God himself hath devised some certain laws and committed them to sacred Scripture, man by abrogation, addition, or any way, should presume to alter and change them; it was of necessity to be examined, whether the authority of God in making, or his care in committing those his laws unto Scripture, be sufficient arguments to prove that God doth in no case allow they should suffer any such kind of change⁶. Eleventhly, the last refuge for proof that divine laws of Christian church polity may not be altered by extinguishment of any old or addition of new in that kind, is partly a marvellous strange discourse, that Christ (unless he should shew himself not so faithful as Moses, or not so wise as Lycurgus and Solon⁷) must needs have set down in holy

¹ [In ch. v.] ² [In ch. vi.] ³ singulorum munera potestatem.
⁴ [In ch. vii.] ⁵ [In ch. viii.] ⁶ que descriperit, que iudiciorum
⁷ [In ch. ix.] ⁸ [In ch. x.] ⁹ fœque ratio habenda, quomodo
¹⁰ Nisi rep. sue statum omiserit ¹¹ civium eviende lites: non solum
¹² constituerit, magistratus ordinarit, ¹³ minus Ecclesie Christianae pro-

Scripture some certain complete and unchangeable form of BOOK III.
 polity¹: and partly a coloured show of some evidence where
 change of that sort of laws may seem expressly forbidden,
 although in truth nothing less be done².

[18.] I might have added hereunto their more familiar and
 popular disputes, as, The Church is a city, yea the city of the
 great King; and the life of a city is polity: The Church is
 the house of the living God; and what house can there be
 without some order for the government of it? In the royal
 house of a prince there must be officers for government, such
 as not any servant in the house but the prince whose the
 house is shall judge convenient. So the house of God must
 have orders for the government of it, such as not any of the
 household but God himself hath appointed. It cannot stand
 with the love and wisdom of God to leave such order untaken
 as is necessary for the due government of his Church. The
 numbers, degrees, orders, and attire of Salomon's servants,
 did shew his wisdom; therefore he which is greater than
 Salomon hath not failed to leave in his house such orders for
 government thereof, as may serve to be a looking-glass for his
 providence, care, and wisdom, to be seen in³. That little
 spark of the light of nature which remaineth in us may serve
 us for the affairs of this life. "But as in all other matters
 "concerning the kingdom of heaven, so principally in this
 "which concerneth the very government of that kingdom,
 "needful it is we should be taught of God. As long as men
 "are persuaded of any order that it is only of men, they pre-
 "sume of their own understanding, and they think to devise
 "another not only as good, but better than that which they

¹ videri quam Moses olim Judaicae, "illa Salomonis in sacra historia
 "sed quam a Lycurgo, Solone, Nu- "magis admirabilem, quanto sapi-
 "ma, civitatibus suis prospectum "entior Salomose fuerit qui omnem
 "sunt." Lib. de Ecclesiast. Discip. "hujus domus ordinem rationemque
 [fol. 8, or p. 10 of T. C.'s translation.] "descripsit. Sive enim ministro-
² [In ch. xi. 1-8.] "rum ordines, sive accubitus, sive
³ [Ch. xi. 9.] "variam pro cujusque dignitate or-
⁴ [Ecc. Disc. fol. 143.] "Christi- "natam et habitum consideremus,
 "tiane Ecclesie, tanquam domus "quod ad Ecclesie non modo salu-
 "Dei (ut a Paulo appellatur) oem- "tem conservandam, sed etiam dig-
 "nitatem illustrandam ornamam-
 "consideraverit, animadvertet pro- "que aut prudenter excogitar, aut
 "fecto incredulitatem quendam illam "cum judicio atque ratione dispo-
 "in omnibus ejus partibus et di- "collocarique poterit; quid in hac
 "vinam sapientiam, ac tanto quidem "desiderari requiratur?"

BOOK III.
Ch. xl. 19.
→

“have received. By severity of punishment this presumption and curiosity may be restrained. But that cannot work such cheerful obedience as is yielded where the conscience hath respect to God as the author of laws and orders. This was it which countenanced the laws of Moses, made concerning outward polity for the administration of holy things. The like some lawgivers of the heathens did pretend, but falsely; yet wisely discerning the use of this persuasion. For the better obedience' sake therefore it was expedient that God should be author of the polity of his Church.”

[19.] But to what issue doth all this come? A man would think that they which hold out with such discourses were of nothing more fully persuaded than of this, that the Scripture hath set down a complete form of church polity, universal, perpetual, altogether unchangeable. For so it would follow, if the premises were sound and strong to such effect as is pretended. Notwithstanding, they which have thus formally maintained argument in defence of the first oversight, are by the very evidence of truth themselves constrained to make this in effect their conclusion, that the Scripture of God hath many things concerning church polity; that of those many some are of greater weight, some of less; that what hath been urged as touching immutability of laws, it extendeth in truth no farther than only to laws wherein things of greater moment are prescribed. Now those things of greater moment, what are they? Forsooth¹, “doctors, pastors, lay-elders, elderships compounded of these three; synods, consisting of many elderships; deacons, women-church-servants or widows; free consent of the people unto actions of greatest moment, after they be by churches or synods orderly resolved.” All “this form” of polity (if yet we may term that a form of building, when men have laid a few rafters together, and those not all of the soundest neither) but howsoever, all this form they conclude is prescribed in such sort, that to add to it any thing as of like importance (for so I think they mean) or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is unlawful. In which resolution if they will firmly and constantly persist, I see not but that concerning the points which hitherto have been disputed of, they must agree that they have molested the Church

¹ The Defence of Godly Ministers against D. Bridges, p. 133.

with needless opposition, and henceforward as we said before BOOK III.
betake themselves wholly unto the trial of particulars, whether Ch. XI. 10.
every of those things which they esteem as principal, be either
so esteemed of, or at all established for perpetuity in holy
Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our Church
polity be received other than the Scripture alloweth of, either
in greater things or in smaller.

[20.] The matters wherein Church polity is conversant are
the public religious duties of the Church, as the administration
of the word and sacraments, prayers, spiritual censures, and
the like. To these the Church standeth always bound. Laws
of polity, are laws which appoint in what manner these duties
shall be performed.

In performance whereof because all that are of the Church
cannot jointly and equally work, the first thing in polity
required is a difference of persons in the Church, without
which difference those functions cannot in orderly sort be
executed. Hereupon we hold that God's clergy are a state,
which hath been and will be, as long as there is a Church
upon earth, necessary by the plain word of God himself;
a state whereunto the rest of God's people must be subject
as touching things that appertain to their souls' health. For
where polity is, it cannot but appoint some to be leaders of
others, and some to be led by others. "If the blind lead the
"blind, they both perish¹." It is with the clergy, if their
persons be respected, even as it is with other men; their
quality many times far beneath that which the dignity of their
place requireth. Howbeit according to the order of polity,
they being the "lights of the world²," others (though better
and wiser) must that way be subject unto them.

Again, forasmuch as where the clergy are any great multi-
tude, order doth necessarily require that by degrees they be
distinguished; we hold there have ever been and ever ought
to be in such case at leastwise two sorts of ecclesiastical per-
sons, the one subordinate unto the other; as to the Apostles
in the beginning, and to the Bishops always since, we find
plainly both in Scripture and in all ecclesiastical records,
other ministers of the word and sacraments have been.

Moreover, it cannot enter into any man's conceit to think

¹ Luke vi. 39.

² Matt. v. 14.

BOOK III. it lawful, that every man which listeth should take upon him
Ch. 21. 22. charge in the Church; and therefore a solemn admittance is
of such necessity, that without it there can be no church-
polity.

A number of particularities there are, which make for the more convenient being of these principal and perpetual parts in ecclesiastical polity, but yet are not of such constant use and necessity in God's Church. Of this kind are, times and places appointed for the exercise of religion; specialities belonging to the public solemnity of the word, the sacraments, and prayer; the enlargement or abridgment of functions ministerial depending upon those two principal before-mentioned; to conclude, even whatsoever doth by way of formality and circumstance concern any public action of the Church. Now although that which the Scripture hath of things in the former kind be for ever permanent: yet in the later both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not always needful; and much the Church of God shall always need which the Scripture teacheth not.

So as the form of polity by them set down for perpetuity is three ways faulty: faulty in omitting some things which in Scripture are of that nature, as namely the difference that ought to be of Pastors when they grow to any great multitude: faulty in requiring Doctors, Deacons, Widows, and such like, as things of perpetual necessity by the law of God, which in truth are nothing less: faulty also in urging some things by Scripture immutable, as their Lay-elders, which the Scripture neither maketh immutable nor at all teacheth, for any thing either we can as yet find or they have hitherto been able to prove. But hereof more in the books that follow.

[21.] As for those marvellous discourses whereby they adventure to argue that God must needs have done the thing which they imagine was to be done; I must confess I have often wondered at their exceeding boldness herein. When the question is whether God have delivered in Scripture (as they affirm he hath) a complete, particular, immutable form of church polity, why take they that other both presumptuous and superfluous labour to prove he should have done it; there being no way in this case to prove the deed of God, saving only by producing that evidence wherein

he hath done it? But if there be no such thing apparent upon record, they do as if one should demand a legacy by force and virtue of some written testament, wherein there being no such thing specified, he pleadeth that there it must needs be, and bringeth arguments from the love or goodwill which always the testator bore him; imagining, that these or the like proofs will convict a testament to have that in it which other men can no where by reading find. In matters which concern the actions of God, the most dutiful way on our part is to search what God hath done, and with meekness to admire that, rather than to dispute what he in congruity of reason ought to do. The ways which he hath whereby to do all things for the greatest good of his Church are moe in number than we can search, other in nature than that we should presume to determine which of many should be the fittest for him to choose, till such time as we see he hath chosen of many some one; which one we then may boldly conclude to be the fittest, because he hath taken it before the rest. When we do otherwise, surely we exceed our bounds; who and where we are we forget; and therefore needful it is that our pride in such cases be controlled, and our disputes beaten back with those demands of the blessed Apostle, "How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who was his counsellor?"

¹ Rom. xi. 33, 34.

BOOK III.
Ch. xi. 21.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CONCERNING THEIR THIRD ASSERTION, THAT OUR FORM OF CHURCH
POLITY IS CORRUPTED WITH PAPIST ORDERS, RITES, AND CEREMO-
NIES, BANISHED OUT OF CERTAIN REFORMED CHURCHES,
WHOSE EXAMPLE THEREIN WE OUGHT TO HAVE FOLLOWED.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FOURTH BOOK.

- I. How great use Ceremonies have in the Church.
- II. The first thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies is, that we have not in them ancient apostolical simplicity, but a greater pomp and stateliness.
- III. The second, that so many of them are the same which the Church of Rome useth; and the reasons which they bring to prove them for that cause blame-worthy.
- IV. How when they go about to expound what Popish Ceremonies they mean, they contradict their own arguments against Popish Ceremonies.
- V. An answer to the argument whereby they would prove, that sith we allow the customs of our fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow such customs as the Church of Rome hath, because we cannot account of them which are of that Church as of our fathers.
- VI. To their allegation, that the course of God's own wisdom doth make against our conformity with the Church of Rome in such things.
- VII. To the example of the eldest Churches which they bring for the same purpose.
- VIII. That it is not our best policy (as they pretend it is) for establishment of sound religion, to have in these things no agreement with the Church of Rome being unsound.
- IX. That neither the Papists upbraiding us as furnished out of their store, nor any hope which in that respect they are said to conceive, doth make any more against our ceremonies than the former allegations have done.
- X. The grief which they say godly brethren conceive at such ceremonies as we have common with the Church of Rome.
- XI. The third thing for which they reprove a great part of our ceremonies is, for that as we have them from the Church of Rome, so that Church had them from the Jews.
- XII. The fourth, for that sundry of them have been (they say) abused unto idolatry, and are by that mean become scandalous.

XIII. The fifth, for that we retain them still, notwithstanding the example of certain Churches reformed before us, which have cast them out.

XIV. A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England for the establishment of things as they are.

I. SUCH was the ancient simplicity and softness of spirit BOOK IV. CH. I. c. 4. which sometimes prevailed in the world, that they whose words were even as oracles amongst men, seemed evermore loth to give sentence against any thing publicly received in the Church of God, except it were wonderful How great are Ceremonies have in the Church. apparently evil; for that they did not so much incline to that severity which delighteth to reprove the least things it seeth amiss, as to that charity which is unwilling to behold any thing that duty bindeth it to reprove. The state of this present age, wherein zeal hath drowned charity, and skill meekness, will not now suffer any man to marvel, whatsoever he shall hear reproved by whomsoever. Those rites and ceremonies of the Church therefore, which are the selfsame now that they were when holy and virtuous men maintained them against profane and deriding adversaries, her own children have at this day in derision. Whether justly or no, it shall then appear, when all things are heard which they have to allege against the outward received orders of this church. Which inasmuch as themselves do compare unto "mint and cummin", granting them to be no part of those things which in the matter of polity are weightier, we hope that for small things their strife will neither be earnest nor long.

[2.] The sifting of that which is objected against the orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong unto this place. Here we are to discuss only those general exceptions, which have been taken at any time against them.

First therefore to the end that their nature and the use whereunto they serve may plainly appear, and so afterwards their quality the better be discerned; we are to note, that in every grand or main public duty which God requireth at the

¹ Matt. xxiii. 23. "The doctrine of ceremonies also, as 'mint and cummin,' ought not to be neglected." T. C. I. iii. p. 171. "and discipline of the Church, as 'cummin,' ought not to be neglected." T. C. I. iii. p. 171. "the weightiest things, ought especially to be looked unto: but the VOL. I.

BOOK IV. hands of his Church, there is, besides that matter and form
 CN. 1. 2 wherein the essence thereof consisteth, a certain outward
 fashion whereby the same is in decent sort administered. The
 substance of all religious actions is delivered from God him-
 self in few words. For example's sake in the sacraments¹,
 "Unto the element let the word be added, and they both do
 "make a sacrament," saith St. Augustine. Baptism is given
 by the element of water, and that prescript form of words
 which the Church of Christ doth use; the sacrament of the
 body and blood of Christ is administered in the elements of
 bread and wine, if those mystical words be added thereunto.
 But the due and decent form of administering those holy
 sacraments doth require a great deal more.

[3.] The end which is aimed at in setting down the outward
 form of all religious actions is the edification of the Church.
 Now men are edified, when either their understanding is
 taught somewhat whereof in such actions it becometh all men
 to consider, or when their hearts are moved with any affec-
 tion suitable thereunto; when their minds are in any sort
 stirred up unto that reverence, devotion, attention, and due
 regard, which in those cases seemeth requisite. Because
 therefore unto this purpose not only speech but sundry
 sensible means besides have always been thought necessary,
 and especially those means which being object to the eye, the
 liveliest and the most apprehensive sense of all other, have in
 that respect seemed the fittest to make a deep and a strong
 impression: from hence have risen not only a number of
 prayers, readings, questionings, exhortings, but even of visible
 signs also; which being used in performance of holy actions,
 are undoubtedly most effectual to open such matter, as men
 when they know and remember carefully, must needs be a
 great deal the better informed to what effect such duties serve.
 We must not think but that there is some ground of reason
 even in nature, whereby it cometh to pass that no nation
 under heaven either doth or ever did suffer public actions

¹ [In Joan. Tract. Ro. § 3. t. iii. "mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid
 pars t. 703. "Jan vis mundi estis
 "propter verbum quod locutus sum
 "robis." Quare non ait, "mundi
 "estis propter baptismum quo loci
 "estis, nisi quia et in aqua verbum
 "est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit ver-
 "bum ad elementum, et fit sacra-
 "mentum, etiam ipsum tanquam
 "visibile verbum."]]

which are of weight, whether they be civil and temporal or else spiritual and sacred, to pass without some visible solemnity: the very strangeness whereof and difference from that which is common, doth cause popular eyes to observe and to mark the same. Words, both because they are common, and do not so strongly move the fancy of man, are for the most part but slightly heard: and therefore with singular wisdom it hath been provided, that the deeds of men which are made in the presence of witnesses should pass not only with words, but also with certain sensible actions, the memory whereof is far more easy and durable than the memory of speech can be.

The things which so long experience of all ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not us presume to condemn as follies and toys, because we sometimes know not the cause and reason of them. A wit disposed to scorn whatsoever it doth not conceive, might ask wherefore Abraham should say to his servant, "Put thy hand under my thigh and swear";¹ was it not sufficient for his servant to shew the religion of an oath by naming the Lord God of heaven and earth, unless that strange ceremony were added? In contracts, bargains, and conveyances, a man's word is a token sufficient to express his will. Yet "this was the ancient manner in Israel concerning redeeming and exchanging, to establish all things; a man did pluck off his shoe and gave it his neighbour; and this was a sure witness in Israel."² Amongst the Romans in their making of a bondman free, was it not wondered wherefore so great ado should be made? The master to present his slave in some court, to take him by the hand, and not only to say in the hearing of the public magistrate, "I will that this man become free," but after these solemn words uttered, to strike him on the cheek, to turn him round, the hair of his head to be shaved off, the magistrate to touch him thrice with a rod, in the end a cap and a white garment to be given him. To what purpose all this circumstance? Amongst the Hebrews how strange and in outward appearance almost against reason, that he which was bound to make himself a perpetual servant, should not only testify

¹ Gen. xxiv. 2. Festus, voc. "manumitti." Isidor.
² Ruth iv. 7. Orig. ix. 4.
 [See Festus, Sat. v. 75. &c.]

BOOK IV. so much in the presence of the judge, but for a visible token
 CH. I. + thereof have also his ear bored through with an awl¹. It
 were an infinite labour to prosecute these things so far as they
 might be exemplified both in civil and religious actions. For
 in both they have their necessary use and force. "The sen-
 sible things which religion hath hallowed, are resemblances
 framed according to things spiritually understood, whereunto
 they serve as a hand to lead, and a way to direct²."

[4.] And whereas it may peradventure be objected, that to
 add to religious duties such rites and ceremonies as are signifi-
 cant, is to institute new Sacraments³; sure I am they will
 not say that Numa Pompilius did ordain a sacrament, a signifi-
 cant ceremony he did ordain, in commanding the priests
 "to execute the work of their divine service with their hands
 as far as to the fingers covered; thereby signifying that
 fidelity must be defended, and that men's right hands are
 the sacred seat thereof⁴." Again we are also to put them
 in mind, that themselves do not hold all significant ceremonies
 for sacraments, insomuch as imposition of hands they deny to be
 a sacrament, and yet they give thereunto a forcible signification;
 for concerning it their words are these: "The party ordained
 by this ceremony was put in mind of his separation to the
 work of the Lord, that remembering himself to be taken as it
 were with the hand of God from amongst others, this might
 teach him not to account himself now his own, nor to do
 what himself listeth, but to consider that God hath set him
 about a work, which if he will discharge and accomplish, he
 may at the hands of God assure himself of reward; and if
 otherwise, of revenge⁵." Touching significant ceremonies,

¹ Exod. xvi. 6.

² Το πάλι σιδηρία λογία είνε σερβία
 δευονοίρατα, κτι δε' αρέι χροπο-
 ρυπίε και αββι. Dionys. p. 121.
 [de Eccl. Hierarch. c. 2. no. 3.] 2.
 l. i. 255. Anzverp. 1634.]

³ [See Beza's Letter to Grindal
 in Adm. 5.]

⁴ "They aimed righte-
 greevously, as often as they
 brought any Sacramentalles (that
 is to say, any ceremonies to im-
 port signification of spiritual
 things) into the Church of God."

⁵ "Mans ad dignos usque invo-
 luta rem divinam facere, signif-

"cantes fidem tutandam, sedemque
 opus etiam in dextris sacramentum
 esse." Liv. lib. i. [c. 21.]

"Eccles. disc. fol. 51. [De sig-
 natus hac ceremonia innotuitur se
 ad opus Domini separari, et e reli-
 quo populo ad illam procuracionem
 Dei ipsius manus quasi decerpi at-
 que delibari: ut jam non amplius
 se sui juri esse sciret, ut agat quod
 vult, sed a Deo ad opus suum ad-
 hibitum, cujus illum perfecti atque
 absoluti remuneratores, contempti
 autem et neglecti ultiores atque
 vindictam habituros esset.]"

Charge of swerving from Apostolical Simplicity. 421

some of them are sacraments, some as sacraments only. Sacraments are those which are signs and tokens of some general promised grace, which always really descendeth from God unto the soul that duly receiveth them; other significant tokens are only as Sacraments, yet no Sacraments; which is not our distinction, but theirs. For concerning the Apostles' imposition of hands these are their own words; "mansuum signum hoc et quasi Sacramentum usurparunt;" "they used this sign, or as it were sacrament!"

II. Concerning rites and ceremonies there may be fault, either in the kind or in the number and multitude of them. The first thing blamed about the kind of ours is, that in many things we have departed from the ancient simplicity of Christ and his Apostles; we have embraced more outward stateliness; we have those orders in the exercise of religion, which they who best pleased God and served him most devoutly never had. For it is out of doubt that the first state of things was best, that in the prime of Christian religion faith was soundest, the Scriptures of God were then best understood by all men, all parts of godliness did then most abound; and therefore it must needs follow, that customs, laws, and ordinances devised since are not so good for the Church of Christ, but the best way is to cut off later inventions, and to reduce things unto the ancient state wherein at the first they were¹. Which rule or canon we hold to be either uncertain or at leastwise insufficient, if not both².

[2.] For in case it be certain, hard it cannot be for them to shew us, where we shall find it so exactly set down, that we may say without all controversy, "these were the orders of the Apostles' times, these wholly and only, neither fewer nor more than these." True it is that many things of this nature be alluded unto, yea many things declared, and many things necessarily collected out of the Apostles' writings. But is it necessary that all the orders of the Church which were then in use should be contained in their books? Surely no. For if the tenor of their writings be well observed, it shall unto any man easily appear, that no more of them are there touched than were needful to be spoken of, sometimes

¹ Fol. 12. ² Lib. Eccles. Disc. et T. C. 10. ⁱⁱⁱ, p. 181. [See before, Preface, iv. 4.]

423 *Apostolical Precedent in some Things out of Date.*

BOOK IV. by one occasion and sometimes by another. Will they allow
 CH. 4. then of any other records besides? Well assured I am they
 are far enough from acknowledging that the Church ought to
 keep any thing as apostolical, which is not found in the
 Apostles' writings, in what other records soever it be found.
 And therefore whereas St. Augustine affirmeth that those
 things which the whole Church of Christ doth hold, may well
 be thought to be apostolical although they be not found
 written¹; this his judgment they utterly condemn. I will
 not here stand in defence of St. Augustine's opinion, which is,
 that such things are indeed apostolical, but yet with this ex-
 ception, unless the decree of some general council have haply
 caused them to be received²: for of positive laws and orders
 received throughout the whole Christian world, St. Augustine
 could imagine no other fountain save these two. But to let
 pass St. Augustine; they who condemn him herein must needs
 confess it a very uncertain thing what the orders of the Church
 were in the Apostles' times, seeing the Scriptures do not
 mention them all, and other records thereof besides they
 utterly reject. So that in tying the Church to the orders of
 the Apostles' times, they tie it to a marvellous uncertain rule;
 unless they require the observation of no orders but only those
 which are known to be apostolical by the Apostles' own writ-
 ings. But then is not this their rule of such sufficiency, that
 we should use it as a touchstone to try the orders of the
 Church by for ever.

[3.] Our end ought always to be the same; our ways and
 means thereunto not so. The glory of God and the good of
 His Church was the thing which the Apostles aimed at, and
 therefore ought to be the mark whereat we also level. But
 seeing those rites and orders may be at one time more which

¹ Tom. vii. de Bapt. contra Do- "be a good judgment and sound,
 natias. lib. vi. cap. 22. [c. 18. 196.] "then there be some things com-
 "Apostoli nihil exinde praeceperunt: "manded of God which are not in
 "sed consuetudo illa quae opposita "the Scriptures; and therefore there
 "habetur. Cyprianus ab eorum tra- "is no sufficient doctrine contained
 "ditione exordium suscipiunt. cre- "in Scripture whereby we may be
 "denda est. sicut sunt multa quae "saved. For all the command-
 "universa tenet Ecclesia, et ab hoc "ments of God and of the Apostles
 "ab Apostolis praecepta bene cre- "are needful for our salvation."
 "duntur, quia quae scripta non re- ² Vide Ep. 118. [ad. 34. t. ii.
 "periuntur." T. C. l. i. p. 31. [18.] 124. A.]
 "If this judgment of St. Augustine

A similar Change approved in the Jewish Church. 423

at another are less available unto that purpose, what reason is there in these things to urge the state of one only age as a pattern for all to follow? It is not I am right sure their meaning, that we should now assemble our people to serve God in close and secret meetings; or that common brooks or rivers should be used for places of baptism; or that the Eucharist should be ministered after meat; or that the custom of church feasting should be renewed; or that all kind of standing provision for the ministry should be utterly taken away, and their estate made again dependent upon the voluntary devotion of men.

In these things they easily perceive how unfit that were for the present, which was for the first age convenient enough. The faith, zeal, and godliness of former times is worthily had in honour; but doth this prove that the orders of the Church of Christ must be still the selfsame with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully since have ceased? They who recall the Church unto that which was at the first, must necessarily set bounds and limits unto their speeches. If any thing have been received repugnant unto that which was first delivered, the first things in this case must stand, the last give place unto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that which hath been can be no prejudice to that which is.

[4] Let the state of the people of God when they were in the house of bondage, and their manner of serving God in a strange land, be compared with that which Canaan and Jerusalem did afford, and who seeth not what huge difference there was between them? In Egypt it may be they were right glad to take some corner of a poor cottage, and there to serve God upon their knees, peradventure covered in dust and straw sometimes. Neither were they therefore the less accepted of God, but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length by working their admirable deliverance did testify, that they served him not in vain. Notwithstanding in the very desert they are no sooner possessors of some little thing of their own, but a tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of Canaan, and having David to be their king, when the Lord had given him rest from all his enemies, it grieved his religious mind to consider the growth of his own estate and dignity, the affairs of religion continuing

"manded!" they must of necessity hold all for popish which the church of Rome hath over and besides this. By popish orders, ceremonies, and government, they must therefore mean in every of these so much as the Church of Rome hath embraced without commandment of God's word: so that whatsoever such thing we have, if the church of Rome hath it also, it goeth under the name of those things that are popish, yea although it be lawful, although agreeable to the word of God. For so they plainly affirm, saying³, "Although the forms and ceremonies which they" (the church of Rome) "used were not unlawful, and that they contained nothing which is not agreeable to the word of God, yet notwithstanding neither the word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest churches both Jewish and Christian do permit us to use the same forms and ceremonies, being neither commanded of God, neither such as there may not as good as they, and rather better, be established." The question therefore is, whether we may follow the church of Rome in those orders, rites, and ceremonies, wherein we do not think them blameable, or else ought to devise others, and to have no conformity with them, nor so much as in these things. In this sense and construction therefore as they affirm, so we deny, that whatsoever is popish we ought to abrogate.

[1.] Their arguments to prove that generally all popish orders and ceremonies ought to be clean abolished, are in sum these: ³ "First, whereas we allow the judgment of St. Augustine, that touching those things of this kind which are not commanded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are to observe the custom of the people of God and decree of our forefathers⁴; how can we retain the customs and constitutions of the papists in such things, who were neither the people of God nor our forefathers?" Secondly⁵, "although the forms and ceremonies of the church of Rome were not unlawful, neither did contain any thing which is not agreeable to the word of God, yet neither the word of God, nor the examples of the eldest churches of God, nor reason, do permit us to use the same, they being heretics

³ T. C. l. 25. [sk. 13. Def. 76. from Answ. 20.]

⁴ T. C. lb. l. p. 131. [102.]

⁵ T. C. lb. l. p. 30. [17.]

[Ep. 20. s. l. ii. 66.]

T. C. lb. l. p. 131. [102.]

426 *Romish Rites said to be against the Analogy of the Law.*

BOOK IV. "and so near about us, and their orders being neither com-
 CH. II. A. manded of God, nor yet such but that as good or rather
 "better may be established." It is against the word of God
 to have conformity with the church of Rome in such things,
 as appeareth in that "the wisdom of God hath thought it
 "a good way to keep his people from infection of idolatry
 "and superstition, by severing them from idolaters in out-
 "ward ceremonies, and therefore hath forbidden them to do
 "things which are in themselves very lawful to be done."
 And further, "whereas the Lord was careful to sever them
 "by ceremonies from other nations, yet was he not so careful
 "to sever them from any as from the Egyptians amongst
 "whom they lived, and from those nations which were next
 "neighbours unto them, because from them was the greatest
 "fear of infection." So that following the course which the
 wisdom of God doth teach¹, "it were more safe for us to
 "conform our indifferent ceremonies to the Turks which are
 "far off, than to the papists which are so near."

Touching the example of the eldest churches of God; in
 one council it was decreed, "that² Christians should not
 "deck their houses with bay leaves and green boughs, be-
 "cause the Pagans did use so to do; and that they should
 "not rest from their labours those days that the Pagans did;
 "that they should not keep the first day of every month as they
 "did. ³Another council decreed that Christians should not

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 132. [103. and
 Eccl. Disc. fol. 100. "A quibus nos
 "debetur, quanto gravior pe-
 "nitentiam nobis ab illis quam ab
 "aliis hereticis, quod inter eos ver-
 "samur, imminet. Quia ratione
 "etiam Dominus in Casuaris atro-
 "cius quam in reliquis idololatrias
 "severi voluit."
² Titm. ii. [Ed. Surii.] Braca. 73.
 [Capitula Martini Episc. Bracar.
 A. D. 572. in Concil. t. v. 913. "Non
 "liceat iniquas observationes agere
 "Kalendarum, et otia vacare gen-
 "tilibus, neque lauro aut viriditate
 "arborum cingere domos. Omnia
 "hæc observatio paganorum est."
 This is not a decree of either of
 the councils of Braga, but one of a
 collection of oriental canons made
 by Martin archbishop of Braga (the
 reformer of the Gallician Church
 from Arianism) and sent to the arch-
 bishop of Lugo, then the second see
 in the province, and to his provin-
 cial council. The oriental original
 of the seventy-third canon does not
 appear.]
³ Con. Afric. cap. 37. [Ibid
 "etiam petendum," (scil. ab im-
 "pioribus) "ut que contra præ-
 "cepta divina contrivia multis in
 "locis exercentur, que ab errore
 "gentili attracta sunt, ita ut nunc
 "a Paganis Christiani ad hæc cele-
 "branda agantur, ex qua re tem-
 "poribus Christianorum impatio-
 "rum persecutio altera fieri occulta
 "videntur veteri talia jubeant, et
 "de civitatibus et de possessionibus
 "imposita poena prohiberi maxime,

"celebrate feasts on the birthdays of the martyrs, because it was the manner of the heathen." "O!" saith Tertullian, "better is the religion of the heathen: for they use no solemnity of the Christians, neither the Lord's day¹, neither the Pentecost; and if they knew them they would have nothing to do with them: for they would be afraid lest they should seem Christians; but we are not afraid to be called heathen²." The same Tertullian would not have Christians to sit after they have prayed, because the idolaters did so³. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular men and of councils, in making or abolishing of ceremonies, heed hath been taken that the Christians should not be like the idolaters, no not in those things which of themselves are most indifferent to be used or not used.

The same conformity is not less opposite unto reason; first inasmuch as "contraries must be cured by their contraries, and therefore popery being anti-christianity is not healed, but by establishment of orders thereunto opposite. The way to bring a drunken man to sobriety is to carry him as far from excess of drink as may be. To rectify a crooked

BOOK IV.
Ch. II. v.

"cum etiam in natalibus beatorum martirum per nonnullas civitates, et in ipais locis sacris, talia committere non reformident. Quibus diebus etiam iquod pueris est dicere saltationes acclatissimas per vicus atque plateas exerceri, ut matronalis honor, et insumerabilium feminarum pudor, devote veniensium ad sacrosanctissimum diem, injuria lascivientibus appetatur; ut etiam ipsius sancte religionis pome fugiatur accessus." Concil. II. 1649. The exact date of this canon seems to be uncertain: but it clearly refers not to Christians having feasts of their own as the Gentiles had, but to the danger they were in of being tempted to join with the Gentiles in their feasts, especially when happening on our sacred days. It is one of several canons, which imply a kind of evil something similar to what Christians living in India now experience. The following is the summary of it given by Aristomenes: Ἡ Ἐκκλησία συμπόσια ποιεῖται, καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀρχιερεῖς ἑπορεύονται, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόσιν ἄρχιερες ἀσπάζονται ἑαυτοὺς. Beveridge, Synodicon, I. 598.]
¹ Lib. de Idololatria, c. 14. "O melior fides nationum in suam sectam: que nullam solemnitatem sectam: etiam si nosset, nobiscum non communicasset; timerent enim, ne Christiani viderentur: nos, ne Ethnici pronunciemur, non veremur." He seemeth to mean the feast of Easter-day, celebrated in the memory of our Saviour's resurrection, and for that cause termed the Lord's day.
² [T. C. I. 103.]
³ Lib. de Anima. [a mistake in Cartwright's reference, for "de Oratione" c. 16. (The error is noted by Whitgift, Def. 480.) "Quam periode faciunt nationes, adoratibus sigillaribus suis residendo, vel propterea in nobis reprehendi meretur, quod apud India celebratur."]

428 *Romish Rites blamed as unreasonable and scandalous.*

BOOK IV. "stick we bend it on the contrary side, as far as it was at the
 Ch. in. i. "first on that side from whence we draw it, and so it cometh
 "in the end to a middle between both, which is perfect
 "straightness¹. Utter inconformity therefore with the church
 "of Rome in these things is the best and surest policy
 "which the Church can use. While we use their ceremo-
 "nies they take occasion to blaspheme, saying, that our
 "religion cannot stand by itself, unless it lean upon the staff
 "of their ceremonies. They hereby conceive great hope of
 "having the rest of their popery in the end, which hope
 "causeth them to be more frozen in their wickedness. Nei-
 "ther is it without cause that they have this hope, considering
 "that which Master Bucer noteth upon the eighteenth of St.
 "Matthew², that where these things have been left, popery
 "hath returned; but on the other part in places which have
 "been cleansed of these things, it hath not yet been seen that
 "it hath had any entrance³. None make such clamours
 "for these ceremonies, as the papists and those whom they
 "suborn; a manifest token how much they triumph and joy
 "in these things. They breed grief of mind in a number, that
 "are godly-minded and have anti-christianity in such detes-
 "tation, that their minds are martyred with the very sight of
 "them in the Church⁴. Such godly brethren we ought not
 "thus to grieve with unprofitable ceremonies, yea, ceremonies
 "wherein there is not only no profit, but also danger of great
 "hurt, that may grow to the Church by infection, which
 "popish ceremonies are means to breed⁵."

This in effect is the sum and substance of that which they
 bring by way of opposition against those orders which we
 have common with the church of Rome; these are the reasons
 wherewith they would prove our ceremonies in that respect
 worthy of blame.

That IV. Before we answer unto these things, we are to cut off
 wherens they who blame us that whereunto they from whom these objections proceed do
 oftentimes fly for defence and succour, when the force and

¹ [Abridged from T. C. l. 102.] "pure predicato Christo etiam ad
 [P. 144. ed. 1553. "His certe "ipsum verbum reformatæ ceremo-
 "hodie debemus ut in multis locis, "nie sunt, acridisse videamus"]
 "sibi dicit predicatum Evangelium. "T. C. lib. iii, p. 178.
 "fuit, adversa sint restituta omnia: "Ibid. p. 179.
 "quam id nunquam, ubi serio et "Ibid. p. 180.

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strength of their arguments is elided. For the ceremonies in use amongst us being in no other respect retained, saving only for that to retain them is to our seeming good and profitable, so profitable and so good, that if we had either simply taken them clean away, or else removed them so as to place their stead others, we had done worse: the plain and direct way against us herein had been only to prove, that all such ceremonies as they require to be abolished are retained by us to the hurt of the Church, or with less benefit than the abolishment of them would bring. But forasmuch as they saw how hardly they should be able to perform this, they took a more compendious way, traducing the ceremonies of our church under the name of being popish. The cause why this way seemed better unto them was, for that the name of popery is more odious than very paganism amongst divers of the more simple sort, so as whatsoever they hear named popish, they presently conceive deep hatred against it, imagining there can be nothing contained in that name but needs it must be exceeding detestable. The ears of the people they have therefore filled with strong clamour: "The Church of England is fraught with popish ceremonies: they that favour the cause of reformation maintain nothing but the sincerity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ: all such as withstand them fight for the laws of his sworn enemy, uphold the filthy relics of Antichrist, and are defenders of that which is popish." These are the notes wherewith are drawn from the hearts of the multitude so many sighs; with these tunes their minds are exasperated against the lawful guides and governors of their souls; these are the voices that fill them with general discontentment, as though the bosom of that famous church wherein they live were more noisome than any dungeon. But when the authors of so scandalous incantations are examined, and called to account how can they justify such their dealings; when they are urged directly to answer, whether it be lawful for us to use any such ceremonies as the church of Rome useth, although the same be not commanded in the word of God; being driven to see that the use of some such ceremonies must of necessity be granted lawful, they go about to make us believe that they are just of the same opinion, and that they only think such ceremonies are not to be used when they are

BOOK IV.
Ch. ix. s.
in this be-
half when
mean
eventual
that all
such cere-
monies are
not to be
abolished,
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swer, that
when they
condemn
popish
ceremonies,
their mean-
ing is of
unprofit-
able, or
ceremonies
inward,
wherof
is good or
better may
be desired;
they cannot
hardly get
out of the
contradict
and gain-
say them-
selves; in-
as much as
their usual
manner is
to prove
ceremonies un-
commanded
of God,
and yet
used in the
church of
Rome, are
for this
very cause
unprofit-
able to us,
and not so
good as
others is
their place
would be.

430 *Cartwright's Answer futile in regard of the Church,*

BOOK IV. unprofitable, or " when as good or better may be established",¹
 Ch. II. 3. Which answer is both idle in regard of us, and also repugnant
 to themselves.

[2.] It is in regard of us very vain to make this answer, because they know that what ceremonies we retain common unto the church of Rome, we therefore retain them, for that we judge them to be profitable, and to be such that others instead of them would be worse. So that when they say that we ought to abrogate such Romish ceremonies as are unprofitable, or else might have other more profitable in their stead, they trifle and they beat the air about nothing which toucheth us; unless they mean that we ought to abrogate all Romish ceremonies which in their judgment have either no use or less use than some other might have. But then must they shew some commission, whereby they are authorized to sit as judges, and we required to take their judgment for good in this case. Otherwise their sentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppose their *methinketh* unto the orders of the Church of England: as in the question about surplices one of them doth²; " If we look to the colour, black methinketh is more decent; if to the form, a garment down to the foot hath a great deal more comeliness in it." If they think that we ought to prove the ceremonies commodious which we have retained, they do in this point very greatly deceive themselves. For in all right and equity, that which the Church hath received and held so long for good, that which public approbation hath ratified, must carry the benefit of presumption with it to be accounted meet and convenient. They which have stood up as yesterday to challenge it of defect, must prove their challenge. If we being defendants do answer, that the ceremonies in question are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church; their reply is childish and unorderedly, to say, that we demand the thing in question³, and shew the poverty

¹ T. C. lib. iii. p. 171. "What an open untruth is it, that this is one of our principles, not to be lawful to use the same ceremonies which the papists did; when as I have both before declared the contrary, and even here have expressly added, that they are not to be used when as good or better may be

"established!"
² Eccles. Discip. fol. 100. [in Cartwright's Transd. 134. "si de colore agitur, mihi quidem magis decorus niger color videtur; si autem de forma, talaris vestis honestior;"]
³ T. C. lib. iii. p. 176. "As for your often repeating that the

of our cause, the goodness whereof we are fain to beg that our adversaries would grant. For on our part this must be the answer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burden of proving doth rest on them. In them it is frivolous to say, we ought not to use bad ceremonies of the church of Rome, and presume all such bad as it pleaseth themselves to dislike, unless we can persuade them the contrary.

[3] Besides, they are herein opposite also to themselves. For what one thing is so common with them, as to use the custom of the church of Rome for an argument to prove, that such and such ceremonies cannot be good and profitable for us, inasmuch as that church useth them? Which usual kind of disputing sheweth, that they do not disallow only those Romish ceremonies which are unprofitable, but count all unprofitable which are Romish; that is to say, which have been devised by the church of Rome, or which are used in that church and not prescribed in the word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can use suitable unto their other positions. And therefore the cause which they yield, why they hold it lawful to retain in doctrine and in discipline some things as good, which yet are common to the church of Rome, is for that those good things are "perpetual commandments in whose place no other can come;" but ceremonies are changeable¹. So that their judgment in truth is, that whatsoever by the word of God is not unchangeable in the church of Rome, that church's using is a cause why reformed churches ought to change it, and not to think it good or profitable. And lest we seem to father any thing upon them more than is properly their own, let them read even their own words, where they complain, "that we are thus constrained to be like unto the Papists in Any their ceremonies;" yea, they urge that this cause, although it were alone, ought to move them to whom that belongeth to do them away, *forasmuch as they are their ceremonies*;² and that the Bishop of Salisbury doth justify this their complaint³.

¹ ceremonies in question are godly, comely, and decent; it is your old wont of demanding the thing in question, and an undoubted argument of your extreme poverty.
² I. C. iii. 174.
³ "And that this complaint of

ours is just in that we are thus constrained to be like unto the papists in any their ceremonies, and that this cause only ought to move them to whom that belongeth, to do them away, *forasmuch as they are their ceremonies*;

BOOK IV. The clause is untrue which they add concerning the Bishop of Salisbury¹; but the sentence doth shew that we do them no wrong in setting down the state of the question between us thus: Whether we ought to abolish out of the church of England all such orders, rites, and ceremonies as are established in the Church of Rome, and are not prescribed in the word of God. For the affirmative whereof we are now to answer such proofs of theirs as have been before alleged.

That our allowing the customs of our fathers to be followed is no proof that we may not allow some customs which the church of Rome hath, although we do not account of them as of our fathers. V. Let the church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God and our fathers in the Christian faith, or let them be otherwise; hold them for catholics or hold them for heretics; it is not a thing either one way or other in this present question greatly material. Our conformity with them in such things as have been proposed is not proved as yet unlawful by all this. St. Augustine² hath said, yea and we have allowed his saying, "That the custom of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers are

¹ The reader may further see in the "Bishop of Salisbury, who brings divers proofs thereof" T. C. lib. iii. p. 277. [It may be worth observing that the Italics are Cartwright's own.]
² [Cartwright's margin refers to Apol. Part i. c. 2. div. 8. by mistake for div. 9. "They cry out. . . that we have rashly and presumptuously disannulled the old ceremonies which have been well allowed by our fathers and forefathers many hundred years past, both by good customs, and also in ages of more purity." On which Harding's remark is, "Concerning ceremonies: if ye shew us not the use of christ in your churches; if the sign of the cross be not borne before you in processions, and otherwheres; and if holy water be abolished; if lights at the Gospel and Communion be not had; if peculiar vestments for Deacons, Priests, Bishops, be taken away; and many such other the like: judge ye, whether ye have duly kept the old ceremonies of the Church." Jewel replies, "Verily, M. Harding, we hate not any of all these things. For we know they are the creatures of God. But you have so misused

them, or rather so defiled and betrayed them with your superstitions, and so have with the same mocked and deceived God's people, that we can no longer continue them without great conscience." This passage, it will be seen, refers to the ceremonies omitted, and not to those retained in the English church. Concerning the latter, although it is well known that he would not have disapproved of further concessions, (see his letters to Bullinger in Strype, Ann. i. l. 262. ii. 544.) yet it is equally certain that his views were not founded on the puritan principle of absolute unlawfulness in the use of things once abused. For in the very same year (1565-6) that he last wrote to Bullinger as above, he had refused his intimate friend, Humphrey, institution to a benefice in the diocese of Sarum, because Humphrey would not pledge himself to wear the habits. Strype, Park. i. 369. and Ann. i. ii. 133. Wordsworth, E. B. iv. 65. How far he differed with the Puritans on Church government may be seen by a paper of his in Whigg. Def. 423. and in Strype, Whigg. iii. 21. 1 App. No. 8.]
³ [see above, b. iii. c. xi. 15.]



"to be kept, touching those things whereof the Scripture hath neither one way nor other given us any charge." What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they being neither the people of God nor our forefathers, are for that cause in nothing to be followed? This consequent were good if so be it were granted, that only the custom of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers are in such case to be observed. But then should no other kind of later laws in the Church be good; which were a gross absurdity to think. St. Augustine's speech therefore doth import, that where we have no divine precept, if yet we have the custom of the people of God or a decree of our forefathers, this is a law and must be kept. Notwithstanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may observe the positive constitutions of our own churches, although the same were but yesterday made by ourselves alone. Nor is there any thing in this to prove, that the church of England might not by law receive orders, rites, or customs from the church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God nor yet our forefathers. How much less when we have received from them nothing, but that which they did themselves receive from such, as we cannot deny to have been the people of God, yea such, as either we must acknowledge for our own forefathers or else disdain the race of Christ?

VI. The rites and orders wherein we follow the church of Rome are of no other kind than such as the church of Geneva itself doth follow them in. We follow the church of Rome in moe things; yet they in some things of the same nature about which our present controversy is: so that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of rites only, wherein they and we do follow the church of Rome. The use of wafer-cakes, the custom of godfathers and godmothers in baptism, are things not commanded nor forbidden in Scripture, things which have been of old and are retained in the church of Rome even at this very hour. Is conformity with Rome in such things a blemish unto the church of England, and unto churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the reverence they owe unto this church, in the bowels whereof they have received I trust that precious and blessed vigour, which shall quicken them to eternal life, yet at the

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BOOK IV.
CH. VI.

people of set purpose unto any utter dissimilitude, either with book iv. Egyptians or with any other nation else. And if God did not Ch. vi. 2 forbid them all such indifferent ceremonies, then our conformity with the church of Rome in some such is not hitherto as yet disproved, although papists were unto us as those heathens were unto Israel. "After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein you dwell, ye shall not do, saith the Lord; and after the manner of the land of Canaan, whither I will bring you, shall ye not do, neither walk in their ordinances; do after my judgments, and keep my ordinances to walk therein: I am the Lord your God¹." The speech is indefinite, "ye shall not be like them:" it is not general, "ye shall not be like them in any thing, or like to them in any thing indifferent, or like unto them in any indifferent ceremony of theirs." Seeing therefore it is not set down how far the bounds of his speech concerning dissimilitude should reach, how can any man assure us, that it extendeth farther than to those things only, wherein the nations there mentioned were idolatrous, or did against that which the law of God commandeth? Nay, doth it not seem a thing very probable, that God doth purposely add, "Do after my judgments," as giving thereby to understand that his meaning in the former sentence was but to bar similitude in such things, as were repugnant unto the ordinances, laws, and statutes which he had given? Egyptians and Canaanites are for example's sake named unto them, because the customs of the one they had been, and of the other they should be best acquainted with. But that wherein they might not be like unto either of them, was such peradventure as had been no whit less unlawful, although those nations had never been. So that there is no necessity to think, that God for fear of infection by reason of nearness forbade them to be like unto the Canaanites or the Egyptians, in those things which otherwise had been lawful enough.

For I would know what one thing was in those nations, and is here forbidden, being indifferent in itself, yet forbidden only because they used it. In the laws of Israel we find it written, "Ye shall not cut round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou tear the tufts of thy beard²." These

¹ Levit. xviii. 3. ² Levit. xix. 27.

BOOK IV. things were usual amongst those nations, and in themselves
 Ch. vi. 3 they are indifferent. But are they indifferent being used as
 signs of immoderate and hopeless lamentation for the dead?
 In this sense it is that the law forbiddeth them. For which
 cause the very next words following are, "Ye shall not cut
 "your flesh for the dead, nor make any print of a mark upon
 "you: I am the Lord¹." The like in Leviticus, where
 speech is of mourning for the dead; "They shall not make
 "bald parts upon their head, nor shave off the locks of their
 "beard, nor make any cutting in their flesh²." Again in
 Deuteronomy, "Ye are the children of the Lord your God;
 "ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make you baldness between
 "your eyes for the dead³." What is this but in effect the
 same which the Apostle doth more plainly express, saying,
 "Sorrow not as they do who have no hope⁴." The very
 light of nature itself was able to see herein a fault; that which
 those nations did use, having been also in use with others,
 the ancient Roman laws do forbid⁵. That shaving therefore
 and cutting which the law doth mention was not a matter in
 itself indifferent, and forbidden only because it was in use
 amongst such idolaters as were neighbours to the people of
 God; but to use it had been a crime, though no other people
 or nation under heaven should have done it saving only
 themselves.

As for those laws concerning attire: "There shall no gar-
 "ment of linen and woollen come upon thee⁶;" as also those
 touching food and diet, wherein swine's flesh together with
 sundry other meats are forbidden⁷; the use of these things
 had been indeed of itself harmless and indifferent: so that
 hereby it doth appear, how the law of God forbade in some
 special consideration such things as were lawful enough in
 themselves. But yet even here they likewise fail of that they
 intend. For it doth not appear that the consideration in
 regard whereof the law forbiddeth these things was because
 those nations did use them. Likely enough it is that the

¹ Levit. xix. 28. ² Deut. xiv. 1. ³ *ne mulieri quidem: et hic simili-*
⁴ Levit. xxi. 5. ⁵ *rum est leesus, quem duodecim*
⁶ 1 Thess. iv. 13. ⁷ *tabulae in funeribus adhiberi vetu-*
⁸ [Cic. *Tusc. Quest.* ii. 23. "In-
⁹ *miscere nonnunquam viro con-* ¹⁰ *erunt.*]
¹¹ *cessum est, idque raro: ejulatus* ¹² Levit. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11.
¹³ ¹⁴ Deut. xiv. 7; Levit. xi.

Canaanites used to feed as well on sheep's as on swine's flesh; and therefore if the forbidding of the later had no other reason than dissimilitude with that people, they which of their own heads allege this for reason can shew I think some reason more than we are able to find why the former was not also forbidden. Might there not be some other mystery in this prohibition than they think of? Yes, some other mystery there was in it by all likelihood. For what reason is there which should but induce, and therefore much less enforce us to think, that care of dissimilitude between the people of God and the heathen nations about them, was any more the cause of forbidding them to put on garments of sundry stuff, than of charging them withal not to sow their fields with meslin¹; or that this was any more the cause of forbidding them to eat swine's flesh, than of charging them withal not to eat the flesh of eagles, hawks, and the like²?

Wherefore, although the church of Rome were to us, as to Israel the Egyptians and Canaanites were of old; yet doth it not follow, that the wisdom of God without respect doth teach us to erect between us and them a partition-wall of difference³, in such things indifferent as have been hitherto disputed of.

VII. Neither is the example of the eldest churches a whit more available to this purpose. Notwithstanding some fault undoubtedly there is in the very resemblance of idolaters⁴. Were it not some kind of blemish to be like unto infidels and heathens, it would not so usually be objected; men would not think it any advantage in the causes of religion to be able therewith justly to charge their adversaries as they do. Wherefore to the end that it may a little more plainly appear, what force this hath and how far the same extendeth, we are to note how all men are naturally desirous that they may seem neither to judge nor to do amiss; because every error and offence is a stain to the beauty of nature, for which cause

¹ Levit. xix. 19. [¹ *Meslin*: mixt
"corn, as wheat and rye." Johnson,
quoting Tisser: "If work for the Thresher ye mind for
"to have,
"Of wheat and of meslin untreshed go
"sare."] ² Deut. xiv; Levit. xi.
³ Ephes. ii. 14.

⁴ "The councils, although they
"did not observe themselves
"always in making of decrees this
"rule, yet have kept this consider-
"ation continually in making of
"their laws, that they would have
"Christians differ from others in
"their ceremonies." T. C. lib. i. p.
131.

BOOK IV. it blusbeth therat, but glorieth in the contrary. From thence
Ch. vii. 3.
 it riseth, that they which disgrace or depress the credit of
 others do it either in both or in one of these. To have been
 in either directed by a weak and imperfect rule argueth imbecility and imperfection. Men being either led by reason or by imitation of other men's example, if their persons be odious whose example we choose to follow, as namely if we frame our opinions to that which condemned heretics think, or direct our actions according to that which is practised and done by them; it lieth as an heavy prejudice against us, unless somewhat mightier than their bare example did move us, to think or do the same things with them. Christian men therefore having besides the common light of all men so great help of heavenly direction from above, together with the lamps of so bright examples as the Church of God doth yield, it cannot but worthily seem reproachful for us to leave both the one and the other, to become disciples unto the most hateful sort that live, to do as they do, only because we see their example before us and have a delight to follow it. Thus we may therefore safely conclude, that it is not evil simply to concur with the heathens either in opinion or in action; and that conformity with them is only then a disgrace, when either we follow them in that they think and do amiss, or follow them generally in that they do without other reason than only the liking we have to the pattern of their example; which liking doth intimate a more universal approbation of them than is allowable.

[1.] Faustus the Manichee therefore objecting against the Jews, that they forsook the idols of the Gentiles, but their temples and oblations and altars and priesthoods and all kinds of ministry of holy things they exercised even as the Gentiles did, yea, more superstitiously a great deal; against the Catholic Christians likewise, that between them and the heathens there was in many things little difference; "From them," saith Faustus, "ye have learned to hold that one only God is the author of all; their sacrifices ye have turned into feasts of charity, their idols into martyrs whom ye honour with the like religious offices unto theirs; the ghosts of the dead ye appease with wine and delicates; the festival days of the nations ye celebrate together with them; and of their kind

"of life ye have verily changed nothing¹." St. Augustine's defence in behalf of both is, that touching matters of action, Jews and Catholic Christians were free from the Gentiles' faultiness, even in those things which were objected as tokens of their agreement with Gentiles²: and concerning their consent in opinion, they did not hold the same with Gentiles because Gentiles had so taught, but because heaven and earth had so witnessed the same to be truth, that neither the one sort could err in being fully persuaded thereof, nor the other but err in case they should not consent with them³.

[3] In things of their own nature indifferent, if either councils or particular men have at any time with sound judgment disliked conformity between the Church of God and infidels, the cause thereof hath been somewhat else than only affectation of dissimilitude. They saw it necessary so to do in respect of some special accident, which the Church being not always subject unto hath not still cause to do the like. For example, in the dangerous days of trial, wherein there was no way for the truth of Jesus Christ to triumph over infidelity but through the constancy of his saints, whom yet a natural desire to save themselves from the flame might peradventure cause to join with Pagans in external customs, too far using the same as a cloak to conceal themselves in, and a mist to darken the eyes of infidels withal: for remedy hereof those laws it might be were provided, which forbid that Christians should deck their houses with boughs as the Pagans did use to do⁴, or rest those festival days whereon

¹ August. cont. Faust. Manich. lib. xv. cap. 4 [l. vii. 334. "Sed his-
"ma aut nihil immutare debet ab
"eo unde factum est, aut non mul-
"tum: et nota vos, qui deservientes
"a gentibus, monarchia opinionem
"primo vobiscum divalastis, id est,
"ut omnia credatis ex Deo: sacri-
"ficia vero eorum veritatis in agri-
"pes, idola in martyres, quos votis
"similibus colitis: defunctorum
"umbras vino placatis et dapibus:
"soleunes gentium dies cum ipsa
"celebratis, ut kalendas, et solan-
"tia: de vita certe eorum mutastis
"nihil.")

² [Ibid. § 23. "Si unus qua-
"rundam verum simul videtur

³ nobis esse cum gentibus, sicut
"cibi et panis, securum, vesti-
"mentum, &c. longe ta-
"men aliter his rebus utitur, qui
"ad alium finem suum curam re-
"fert: et aliter qui ex his Deo gra-
"tias agit, de quo prava et falsa non
"credit.")

⁴ [Ibid. § 30. "Dicat ergo
"Faustus, . . . monarchia opinionem
"non ex gentibus non habere; sed
"gentes non usque adeo ad falsos
"Deos esse delapsos, ut opinionem
"amitterent unius veri Dei, ex quo
"est omnis qualiscunque natura."] * * *
"Also it was decreed in ano-
"ther council that they should not
"deck their houses with hay-leaves

BOOK IV. the Pagans rested, or celebrate such feasts as were, though
Ch. vi. c. 5. not heathenish, yet such as the simpler sort of heathens might
 be beguiled in so thinking them.

[4.] As for Tertullian's judgment concerning the rites and orders of the Church, no man having judgment can be ignorant how just exceptions may be taken against it¹. His opinion touching the Catholic Church was as unindifferent as touching our church the opinion of them that favour this pretended reformation is. He judged all them who did not Montanize to be but carnally minded, he judged them still over-abstractly to fawn upon the heathens, and to curry favour with infidels. Which as the catholic church did well provide that they might not do indeed, so Tertullian over-often through discontentment carped injuriously at them as though they did it, even when they were free from such meaning.

[5.] But if it were so, that either the judgment of these councils before alleged, or of Tertullian himself against the Christians, are in no such consideration to be understood as we have mentioned; if it were so that men are condemned as well of the one as of the other, only for using the ceremonies of a religion *contrary* unto their own, and that *this cause* is such as ought to prevail no less with us than with them: shall it not follow that seeing there is still between our religion and Paganism the selfsame *contrariety*, therefore we are still no less rebukeable, if we now deck our houses with boughs, or send new-year's gifts unto our friends, or feast on those days which the Gentiles then did, or sit after prayer as they were accustomed? For so they infer upon the premises, that as great difference as commodiously may be, there should be in all outward ceremonies between the people of God and them which are not his people. Again they teach as hath been declared, that there is not as great a difference

"and green boughs, because the
 = Pagans did use so; and that they
 = should not rest from their labour
 = those days that the Pagans did,
 = that they should not keep the
 = first day of every month as they
 = did." T. C. l. i. p. 132. [103.]
 = Tertullian saith, O, saith he,
 = better is the religion of the
 = heathen; for they use no solemnity
 = nity of the Christians, neither the
 = Lord's day, neither, &c. but we are
 = not afraid to be called heathen."
 T. C. l. i. p. 132. [103.] "But
 = having shewed this in general to
 = be the policy of God first, and of
 = his people afterward, to just as
 = much difference as can be com-
 = modiously between the people of
 = God and others which are not, I
 = shall not, &c." T. C. l. i. p. 133.

as may be between them, except the one do avoid whatsoever rites and ceremonies uncommanded of God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach that the very difference of spiritual condition itself between the servants of Christ and others requireth such difference in ceremonies between them, although the one be never so far disjointed in time or place from the other.

[6.] But in case the people of God and Belial do chance to be neighbours, then as the danger of infection is greater, so the same difference they say is thereby made more necessary¹. In this respect as the Jews were severed from the heathen, so most especially from the heathen nearest them. And in the same respect we, which ought to differ howsoever from the church of Rome, are now they say by reason of our nearness more bound to differ from them in ceremonies than from Turks. A strange kind of speech unto Christian ears, and such as I hope they themselves do acknowledge unadvisedly uttered. "We are not so much to fear infection from Turks "as from papists." What of that? we must remember that by conforming rather ourselves in that respect to Turks, we should be spreaders of a worse infection into others than any we are likely to draw from papists by our conformity with them in ceremonies. If they did hate, as Turks do, the Christians; or as Canaanites did of old the Jewish religion even in gross; the circumstance of local nearness in them unto us might haply enforce in us a duty of greater separation from them than from those other mentioned. But forasmuch as papists are so much in Christ nearer unto us than Turks, is there any reasonable man, trow you, but will judge it meet that our ceremonies of Christian religion should be popish than Turkish or heathenish? Especially considering that we were not brought to dwell amongst them, (as Israel in Canaan,) having not been of them. For even a very part of them we were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, first to reform ourselves, (whence grew our separation,) and then by all good means to seek also their reformation; had we not only cut off their corruptions but also estranged ourselves from them in things indifferent, who seeth not how greatly prejudicial this might have been to

¹ [Decl. of Discip. 134.]

BOOK IV. so good a cause, and what occasion it had given them to think
CH. VIII. 1.
 (to their greater obduration in evil) that through a froward or
 wanton desire of innovation we did unconstrainedly those
 things for which conscience was pretended? Howsoever
 the case doth stand, as Juda had been rather to choose
 conformity in things indifferent with Israel when they were
 nearest opposites, than with the farthest removed Pagans;
 so we in the like case much rather with papists than with
 Turks. I might add further for more full and complete
 answer, so much concerning the large odds between the case
 of the eldest churches in regard of those heathens and ours in
 respect of the church of Rome, that very cavillation itself
 should be satisfied, and have no shift to fly unto.

That it is
not our best
policy for
the estab-
lishment
of sound
religion,
to have
in these
things no
agreement
with the
church of
Rome
being
assumed.

VIII. But that no one thing may detain us over long,
 I return to their reasons against our conformity with that
 church. That extreme dissimilitude which they urge upon
 us, is now commended as our best and safest policy for estab-
 lishment of sound religion. The ground of which politic
 position is that "evils must be cured by their contraries,"
 and therefore the cure of the Church infected with the poison
 of Antichristianity must be done by that which is thereunto
 as contrary as may be¹. "A medled estate of the orders of
 "the Gospel and the ceremonies of popery is not the best
 "way to banish popery!"

We are contrariwise of opinion, that he which will perfectly
 recover a sick and restore a diseased body unto health, must
 not endeavour so much to bring it to a state of simple con-
 trariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety unto those evils
 which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme heat
 by setting the body in extremity of cold, shall undoubtedly
 remove the disease, but together with it the diseased too.
 The first thing therefore in skilful cures is the knowledge of
 the part affected; the next is of the evil which doth affect it;
 the last is not only of the kind but also of the measure of
 contrary things whereby to remove it.

¹ "Common reason also doth
 teach that contraries are cured
 "by their contraries. Now Christ-
 "ianity and Antichristianity, the
 "Gospel and Popery, be contra-
 "ries, and therefore Antichristianity
 "must be cured, not by itself, but
 "by that which is (as much as may
 "be) contrary unto it." T. C. l. l.
 p. 134. [103.]
² [T. C. l. 103.]

sometimes urged heretically, sometimes ignorantly. 443

[2.] They which measure religion by dislike of the church of Rome think every man so much the more sound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to seem more large. And therefore some there are, namely the Arians in reformed churches of Poland, which imagine the canker to have eaten so far into the very bones and marrow of the church of Rome, as if it had not so much as a sound belief, no not concerning God himself, but that the very belief of the Trinity were a part of antichristian corruption¹; and that the wonderful providence of God did bring to pass that the bishop of the see of Rome should be famous for his triple crown; a sensible mark whereby the world might know him to be that mystical beast spoken of in the Revelation, to be that great and notorious Antichrist in no one respect so much as in this, that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinity. Wisdom therefore and skill is requisite to know, what parts are sound in that church, and what corrupted.

Neither is it to all men apparent which complain of unsound parts, with what kind of unsoundness every such part is possessed. They can say, that in doctrine, in discipline, in prayers, in sacraments, the church of Rome hath (as it hath indeed) very foul and gross corruptions; the nature whereof notwithstanding because they have not for the most part exact skill and knowledge to discern, they think that amiss many times which is not; and the salve of reformation they mightily call for, but where and what the sores are which need it, as they wot full little, so they think it not greatly material to search. Such men's contentment must be wrought by stratagem; the usual method of art is not for them.

[3.] But with those that profess more than ordinary and common knowledge of good from evil, with them that are able to put a difference between things naught and things indifferent in the church of Rome, we are yet at controversy about the manner of removing that which is naught; whether it may not be perfectly helped, unless that also which is indifferent be cut off with it, so far till no rite or ceremony remain which the church of Rome hath, being not found in the word of God. If we think this too extreme, they reply, that to draw men from great excess, it is not amiss though we

¹ [See book V. c. xlii. 16.]

444 *Extreme Contrariety to Romanism against Analogy.*

BOOK IV. use them unto somewhat less than is competent¹; and that
 Ch. viii. + a crooked stick is not straightened unless it be bent as far on
 ----- the clean contrary side, that so it may settle itself at the
 length in a middle estate of evenness between both. But
 how can these comparisons stand them in any stead? When
 they urge us to extreme opposition against the church of
 Rome, do they mean we should be drawn unto it only for
 a time, and afterwards return to a mediocrity? or was it the
 purpose of those reformed churches, which utterly abolished
 all popish ceremonies, to come in the end back again to the
 middle point of evenness and moderation? Then have we
 conceived amiss of their meaning. For we have always
 thought their opinion to be, that utter in conformity with the
 church of Rome was not an extremity whereunto we should
 be drawn for a time, but the very mediocrity itself wherein
 they meant we should ever continue. Now by these compar-
 isons it seemeth clean contrary, that howsoever they have
 bent themselves at first to an extreme contrariety against the
 Romish church, yet therein they will continue no longer than
 only till such time as some more moderate course for establish-
 ment of the Church may be concluded.

[4.] Yea, albeit this were not at the first their intent, yet
 surely now there is great cause to lead them unto it. They
 have seen that experience of the former policy, which may
 cause the authors of it to hang down their heads. When
 Germany had stricken off that which appeared corrupt in the
 doctrine of the church of Rome, but seemed nevertheless in
 discipline still to retain therewith very great conformity;
 France by that rule of policy which hath been before men-
 tioned, took away the popish orders which Germany did
 retain. But process of time hath brought more light into
 the world; whereby men perceiving that they of the religion
 in France have also retained some orders which were before

"If a man would bring a	"to be straight, we do not only
"drunken man to sobriety, the best	"how it so far until it come to be
"and nearest way is to carry him	"straight, but we bend it so far
"as far from his excess in drink as	"until we make it so crooked of the
"may be; and if a man could not	"other side as it was before of the
"keep a mean, it were better to fault	"first side; to this end, that at the
"in prescribing less than he should	"last it may stand straight, and as
"drink, than to fault in giving him	"it were in the midway between
"more than he ought. As we see,	"both the crooks." T. C. lib. i.
"to bring a stick which is crooked	p. 132. [103.]

in the church of Rome, and are not commanded in the word of God, there hath arisen a sect¹ in England, which following still the very selfsame rule of policy, seeketh to reform even the French reformation, and purge out from thence also dregs of popery. These have not taken as yet such root that they are able to establish any thing. But if they had, what would spring out of their stock, and how far the unquiet wit of man might be carried with rules of such policy, God doth know. The trial which we have lived to see, may somewhat teach us what posterity is to fear. But our Lord of his infinite mercy avert whatsoever evil our swerings on the one hand or on the other may threaten unto the state of his Church!

IX. That the church of Rome doth hereby take occasion to blaspheme, and to say, our religion is not able to stand of itself unless it lean upon the staff of their ceremonies², either is not a matter of so great moment, that it did need to be objected, or doth deserve to receive an answer. The name of blasphemy in this place, is like the shoe of Hercules on a child's foot³. If the church of Rome do use any such kind of silly exprobration, it is no such ugly thing to the ear, that we should think the honour and credit of our religion to receive thereby any great wound. They which hereof make so perilous a matter do seem to imagine, that we have erected of late a frame of some new religion, the furniture whereof we should not have borrowed from our enemies, lest they relieving us might afterwards laugh and gibe at our poverty; whereas in truth the ceremonies which we have taken from such as were before us, are not things that belong to this or that sect, but they are the ancient rites and customs of the Church of Christ, whereof ourselves being a part, we have the selfsame interest in them which our fathers before us had, from whom the same are descended unto us. Again, in case we had been so much beholding privately unto them, doth the reputation to one church stand by saying unto another,

¹ [The Brownists, or Barrowites.] "*monies*," T. C. lib. iii. p. 178.
² By using of these ceremonies, [and i. 21.]
³ the Papias take occasion to blaspheme, saying, that our religion cannot stand by itself, unless it lean upon the staff of their ceremonies." See Quintilian VI. 1. 3. and Erasmus. Adag. Chii. iii. Cent. vi. Prov. 67.]

BOOK IV. "I need thee not?" If some should be so vain and impotent
Ch. ix. b.
 as to mar a benefit with reproachful upbraiding, where at the
 least they suppose themselves to have bestowed some good
 turn; yet surely a wise body's part it were not, to put out his
 fire, because his fond and foolish neighbour, from whom he
 borrowed peradventure wherewith to kindle it, might haply
 cast him therewith in the teeth, saying, "Were it not for me
 "thou wouldst freeze, and not be able to heat thyself."

[1.] As for that other argument derived from the secret
 affection of papists, with whom our conformity in certain
 ceremonies is said to put them in great hope, that their whole
 religion in time will have re-entrance, and therefore none
 are so clamorous amongst us for the observation of these
 ceremonies, as papists and such as papists suborn to speak for
 them, whereby it clearly appeareth how much they rejoice,
 how much they triumph in these things¹; our answer here-
 unto is still the same, that the benefit we have by such cere-
 monies outweigheth even this also. No man which is not
 exceeding partial can well deny, but that there is most
 just cause wherefore we should be offended greatly at the
 church of Rome. Notwithstanding at such times as we are to
 deliberate for ourselves, the freer our minds are from all dis-
 tempered affections, the sounder and better is our judgment.
 When we are in a fretting mood at the church of Rome, and
 with that angry disposition enter into any cogitation of the
 orders and rites of our church; taking particular survey of
 them, we are sure to have always one eye fixed upon the
 countenance of our enemies, and according to the blithe
 or heavy aspect thereof, our other eye sheweth some other
 suitable token either of dislike or approbation towards our
 own orders. For the rule of our judgment in such case being
 only that of Homer, "This is the thing which our enemies
 "would have²;" what they seem contented with, even
 for that very cause we reject: and there is nothing but it
 pleaseth us much the better if we espy that it galleth them.
 Miserable were the state and condition of that church, the

¹ "To prove the papists' triumph
 "and joy in these things, I alleged
 "further that there are none which
 "make such clamours for these
 "ceremonies, as the papists and
 "those whom they suborn." T. C.
 lib. iii. p. 179.
² "It see γαβήσω Πρίστου. Il. A.
 [v. 255.]

weighty affairs whereof should be ordered by those deliberations wherein such a humour as this were predominant. We have most heartily to thank God therefore, that they amongst us to whom the first consultations of causes of this kind fell, were men which aiming at another mark, namely the glory of God and the good of this his church, took that which they judged thereunto necessary, not rejecting any good or convenient thing only because the church of Rome might perhaps like it. If we have that which is meet and right, although they be glad, we are not to envy them this their solace; we do not think it a duty of ours to be in every such thing their tormentors.

[3.] And whereas it is said that popery for want of this utter extirpation hath in some places taken root and flourished again¹, but hath not been able to re-establish itself in any place after provision made against it by utter evacuation of all Romish ceremonies: and therefore, as long as we hold any thing like unto them, we put them in some more hope than if all were taken away: as we deny not but this may be true, so being of two evils to choose the less, we hold it better that the friends and favourers of the church of Rome should be in some kind of hope to have a corrupt religion restored, than both we and they conceive just fear, lest under colour of rooting out popery, the most effectual means to bear up the state of religion be removed, and so a way made either for Paganism or for extreme barbarity to enter. If desire of weakening the hope of others should turn us away from the course we have taken; how much more the care of preventing our own fear withhold us from that we are urged unto! Especially seeing that our own fear we know, but we are not so certain what hope the rites and orders of our church have bred in the hearts of others.

For it is no sufficient argument thereof to say, that in

¹ Thus they conceiving hope	" the easilier hale in the whole body
" of having the rest of their popery	" after: considering also that Masse
" in the end, it causeth them to be	" Bucer noteth, that where these
" more frozen in their wickedness,	" things have been left, there popery
" &c. For not the cause but the	" hath returned; but on the other
" occasion also ought to be taken	" part, in places which have been
" away, &c. Although let the reader	" cleansed of these dregs, it hath
" judge, whether they have cause	" not been seen that it hath had any
" given to hope, that the tail of	" entrance." T. C. lib. iii. p. 179.
" popery yet remaining, they shall	[and i. 51.]

448 Upholders of our Rites not therefore popishly inclined.

BOOK IV. maintaining and urging these ceremonies none are so clamorous
 Ch. 16. 2 as papists and they whom papists suborn¹; this speech being
 → more hard to justify than the former, and so their proof
 more doubtful than the thing itself which they prove. He
 that were certain that this is true, must have marked who
 they be that speak for ceremonies; he must have noted who
 amongst them doth speak oftentimes, or is most earnest; he must
 have been both acquainted thoroughly with the religion of
 such, and also privy what conferences or compacts are passed
 in secret between them and others; which kinds of notice
 are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which
 allege this would have it taken as a thing that needeth no
 proof, a thing which all men know and see.

And if so be it were granted them as true, what gain
 they by it? Sundry of them that be popish are eager in
 maintenance of ceremonies. Is it so strange a matter to
 find a good thing furthered by ill men of a sinister intent
 and purpose, whose forwardness is not therefore a bridle
 to such as favour the same cause with a better and sincerer
 meaning? They that seek, as they say, the removing of
 all popish orders out of the Church, and reckon the state
 of Bishops in the number of those orders, do (I doubt not)
 presume that the cause which they prosecute is holy. Not-
 withstanding it is their own ingenuous acknowledgment, that
 even this very cause, which they term so often by an excel-
 lency, "The Lord's cause," is "*gratissima*, most acceptable,
 "unto some which hope for prey and spoil by it, and that
 "our age hath store of such, and that such are the very
 "sectaries of Dionysius the famous atheist!" Now if
 hereupon we should upbraid them with irreligious, as they do
 us with superstitious favourers; if we should follow them in
 their own kind of pleading, and say, that the most clamorous
 for this pretended reformation are either atheists, or else
 protectors suborned by atheists; the answer which herein they

¹ [T. C. l. 13. li. 186.] "Habet enim atas nostra multos
 "Eccles. Dicit. l. 24. [p. 127.] "ejusmodi milites, multos Diony-
 as translated by T. C. "Hæc . . . "sios, qui Deo togam auream neque
 "causa de episcoporum pompa et "ad ætatem neque ad hyemem
 "affluentia miseranda . . . gratissima "commodam, sibi autem ad omnia
 "nonnulla est, qui eam causam "utilissimam et commodissimam
 "agi putant, et jampridem here- "fore arbitrantur." Vide Cic. de
 "ditanem istam spe devertant . . . Nat. Deor. li. 34.]

would make unto us, let them apply unto themselves, and there
 an end. For they must not forbid us to presume our cause
 in defence of our church orders to be as good as theirs against
 them, till the contrary be made manifest to the world.

X. In the meanwhile sorry we are that any good and
 godly mind should be grieved¹ with that which is done. But
 to remedy their grief lieth not so much in us as in themselves.
 They do not wish to be made glad with the hurt of the
 Church: and to remove all out of the Church wherewith
 they shew themselves to be sorrowful, would be, as we are
 persuaded, hurtful if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be
 able to persuade the contrary, they must and will I doubt
 not find out some other good means to cheer up themselves.
 Amongst which means the example of Geneva may serve for
 one. Have not they the old popish custom of using god-
 fathers and godmothers in Baptism? the old popish custom
 of administering the blessed sacrament of the holy Eucharist
 with wafer-cakes? These things the godly there can digest.
 Wherefore should not the godly here learn to do the like both
 in them and in the rest of the like nature? Some further
 mean peradventure it might be to assuage their grief, if so be
 they did consider the revenge they take on them which have
 been, as they interpret it, the workers of their continuance
 in so great grief so long. For if the maintenance of cere-
 monies be a corrosive to such as oppugn them, undoubtedly
 to such as maintain them it can be no great pleasure, when
 they behold how that which they reverence is oppugned.
 And therefore they that judge themselves martyrs when they
 are grieved, should think withal what they are whom² they
 grieve³. For we are still to put them in mind that the cause

¹ T. C. i. iii. p. 180. [and i. 53.]
 "There be numbers which have
 "Antichristianity in such detesta-
 "tion, that they cannot without
 "grief of mind behold them." And
 afterwards, "such godly heathens
 "are not easily to be grieved, which
 "they seem to be when they are thus
 "martyred in their minds, for cere-
 "monies which (to speak the best
 "of them) are unprofitable."
² ["when," edd. 1594, 1604, 1617:]
 1886.

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³ [See a letter of Archdeacon
 Barfoot to Archbishop Whigitt in
 Strype, Ann. iii. 1. 350. (1584.)
 "Truly, my lord, the conformable
 "ministry is very much grieved
 "thereat. And divers said plainly,
 "that if they had thought this would
 "have been the end, they would
 "have joined with the other in
 "their recusancy, rather than have
 "offered themselves to such re-
 "prouchful speeches, as were given
 "out of them by some of that faction.

BOOK IV. doth make no difference; for that it must be presumed as
 CH. 14. good at the least on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end
 decided who have stood for truth and who for error. So that
 till then the most effectual medicine and withal the most
 sound to ease their grief, must not be (in our opinion) the
 taking away of those things whereat they are grieved, but the
 altering of that persuasion which they have concerning the
 same.

[1.] For this we therefore both pray and labour; the more
 because we are also persuaded, that it is but conceit in them
 to think, that those Romish ceremonies whereof we have
 hitherto spoken, are like leprous clothes, infectious unto the
 Church, or like soft and gentle poisons¹, the venom whereof
 being insensibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is never
 felt working. Thus they say: but because they say it only,
 and the world hath not as yet had so great experience of their
 art in curing the diseases of the Church, that the bare authority
 of their word should persuade in a cause so weighty, they
 may not think much if it be required at their hands to shew,
 first, by what means so deadly infection can grow from similitude
 between us and the church of Rome in these things
 indifferent; secondly, for that it were infinite if the Church
 should provide against every such evil as may come to pass,
 it is not sufficient that they shew possibility of dangerous
 event, unless there appear some likelihood also of the same to
 follow in us, except we prevent it. Nor is this enough, unless
 it be moreover made plain, that there is no good and sufficient
 way of prevention, but by evacuating clean, and by emptying
 the Church of every such rite and ceremony, as is presently

¹ For they told him, that there was
 "a letter there in the country sent
 "from Mr. Field of London, [a great
 "Furman,] to the ministers in those
 "parts, recusants, exhorting them
 "to stand stoutly to the cause;
 "affirming the same not to be theirs;
 "but the Lord's; boldly assuring,
 "that such as had subscribed had
 "made a *break*, as he was informed
 "Field termed it. And therefore
 "rashly judging of them, that they
 "never would do good hereafter,
 "and slanderously terming them by

"the name of *branded men*. He
 "assured his grace, there was
 "great grief conceived hereat." In
 "a schedule of complaints from
 "Suffolk Archdeaconry, 1586. "The
 "communion was received by many
 "sitting, and those that conform-
 "ed to the Church called Time-
 "servers." Whitg. i. 497.]
² Although the corruptions in
 "them strike not straight to the
 "heart, yet as gentle poisons they
 "consume by little and little." T. C.
 "ib. iii. p. 171.]

called in question. Till this be done, their good affection BOOK IV.
towards the safety of the Church is acceptable, but the way Ch. 3. 5.
they prescribe us to preserve it by must rest in suspense.

[3.] And lest hereat they take occasion to turn upon us the speech of the prophet Jeremy used against Babylon, "Behold we have done our endeavour to cure the diseases of Babylon, but she through her wilfulness doth rest uncured¹;" let them consider into what straits the Church might drive itself in being guided by this their counsel. Their axiom is, that the sound believing Church of Jesus Christ may not be like heretical churches in any of those indifferent things, which men make choice of, and do not take by prescript appointment of the word of God. In the word of God the use of bread is prescribed, as a thing without which the Eucharist may not be celebrated; but as for the kind of bread it is not denied to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of itself, we are by this axiom of theirs to avoid the use of unleavened bread in that sacrament, because such bread the church of Rome being heretical useth. But doth not the selfsame axiom bar us even from leavened bread also, which the church of the Grecians useth; the opinions whereof are in a number of things the same for which we condemn the church of Rome, and in some things erroneous where the church of Rome is acknowledged to be sound; as namely, in the article about proceeding of the Holy Ghost? And lest here they should say that because the Greek church is farther off, and the church of Rome nearer, we are in that respect rather to use that which the church of Rome useth not; let them imagine a reformed church in the city of Venice, where a Greek church and a popish both are. And when both these are equally near let them consider what the third shall do. Without either leavened or unleavened bread, it can have no sacrament; the word of God doth tie it to neither; and their axiom doth exclude it from both. If this constrain them, as it must, to grant that their axiom is not to take any place save in those things only where the Church hath larger scope; it resteth that they search out some stronger reason than they have as yet alleged; otherwise they constrain not us to think that the Church is tied unto any such rule or axiom, no not then when

¹ Jer. li. 9.
G g 2

BOOK IV. she hath the widest field to walk in, and the greatest store of choice.

 Their ex-
 ception
 against
 such cere-
 monies as
 we have
 received
 from the
 church of
 Rome, that
 church hav-
 ing taken
 them from
 the Jews.

XI. Against such ceremonies generally as are the same in the church of England and of Rome, we see what hath been hitherto alleged. Albeit therefore we do not find the one church's having of such things to be sufficient cause why the other should not have them: nevertheless, in case it may be proved, that amongst the number of rites and orders common unto both, there are particulars, the use whereof is utterly unlawful in regard of some special bad and noisome quality; there is no doubt but we ought to relinquish such rites and orders, what freedom soever we have to retain the other still. As therefore we have heard their general exception against all those things, which being not commanded in the word of God, were first received in the church of Rome, and from thence have been derived into ours; so it followeth that now we proceed unto certain kinds of them, as being excepted against not only for that they are in the church of Rome, but are besides either Jewish, or abused unto idolatry, and so grown scandalous.

[1.] The church of Rome, they say, being ashamed of the simplicity of the gospel, did almost out of all religions take whatsoever had any fair and gorgeous show¹, borrowing in that respect from the Jews sundry of their abolished ceremonies.

Thus by foolish and ridiculous imitation, all their massing furniture almost they took from the Law, lest having an altar and a priest, they should want vestments for their stage²; so that whatsoever we have in common with the church of Rome, if the same be of this kind we ought to remove it. *Constantine the emperor speaking of the keeping of the feast of Easter, saith, 'That it is an unworthy thing to have any thing common with that most spiteful company of the Jews³.' And a little after he saith, 'That it is most absurd and against reason, that the Jews should

¹ Eccles. Disc. fol. 98. [in T. C. N. transl. p. 119, 1.] and T. C. lib. iii. p. 181. *Many of these popish ceremonies faulty by reason of the pomp in them; where they should be agreeable to the simplicity of the gospel of Christ crucified.
 [Ecc. Disc. ibid.]

² T. C. lib. i. p. 132. [101.] Eusebius de Vit. Const. lib. iii. c. 18. [Μαθηταί τινος τέρου τινος αμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἰδιώτων τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔχοντες . . . τέρου τινος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνεπαύρητος, ἀδύνατον αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπαιτίας τῆς αἰδέας ἀδυνατήσαντες ταῖς φαλαγγασίας αὐτῶν εἶπερ ἰσχυροί.]

"vaunt and glory that the Christians could not keep those things without their doctrine." And in another place it is said after this sort; 'It is convenient so to order the matter, that we have nothing common with that nation!'. The council of Laodicea, which was afterwards confirmed by the sixth general council³, decreed 'that the Christians should not take unleavened bread of the Jews, or communicate with their impiety!'

BOOK IV.
Ch. xl. 2. +

[3.] For the easier manifestation of truth in this point, two things there are which must be considered: namely, the causes wherefore the Church should decline from Jewish ceremonies; and how far it ought so to do. One cause is that the Jews were the deadliest and spitefullest enemies of Christianity that were in the world, and in this respect their orders so far forth to be shunned, as we have already set down in handling the matter of heathenish ceremonies. For no enemies being so venomous against Christ as Jews, they were of all other most odious, and by that mean least to be used as fit church-patterns for imitation. Another cause is the solemn abrogation of the Jews' ordinances; which ordinances for us to resume, were to check our Lord himself which hath disannulled them. But how far this second cause doth extend, it is not on all sides fully agreed upon. And touching those things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be small cause wherefore the Church should frame itself to the Jews' example in respect of their persons which are most hateful; yet God himself having been the author of their laws, herein they are (notwithstanding the former consideration) still worthy to be honoured, and to be followed above others, as much as the state of things will bear.

[4.] Jewish ordinances had some things natural, and of the perpetuity of those things no man doubteth. That which was positive we likewise know to have been by the coming of Christ partly necessary not to be kept, and partly indifferent to be kept or not. Of the former kind circumcision and

¹ Socrat. lib. i. c. p. [Τὸν νόμον
ἀποφθεῖραντες ἀποτίθη, διὰ τοῦτο
περὶ τοῦ νόμου ἀποποιήσαντες οὐ καὶ
ἐπισημαίνοντες ἀδικίαν ἔθνεος ἑβραίων
ἐσθλῶν.] Quiniesimum. vid. Labb. Conc. vi.
1124, 1146.
² Tom. i. Concil. Laod. Can. 38.
[1, 1503. ἵνα οὐ μὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
ἄρτων ἐσθλῶν, ἢ κινῶνται τοῖς
ἀδικήσασιν ἔθνεσιν.]
³ [Or rather by the council called

BOOK IV. sacrifice were. For this point Stephen was accused, and the
 Ch. xi. 4

 evidence which his accusers brought against him in judgment
 was, "This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words
 "against this holy place and the Law, for we have heard him
 "say that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and
 "shall change the ordinances that Moses gave us¹." True
 it is that this doctrine was then taught, which unbelievers
 condemning for blasphemy did therein commit that which they
 did condemn. The Apostles notwithstanding from whom
 Stephen had received it, did not so teach the abrogation, no
 not of those things which were necessarily to cease, but that
 even the Jews being Christian, might for a time continue in
 them. And therefore in Jerusalem the first Christian bishop
 not circumcised was Mark; and he not bishop till the days of
 Adrian the emperor, after the overthrow of Jerusalem: there
 having been fifteen bishops before him which were all of the
 circumcision².

The Christian Jews did think at the first not only them-
 selves but the Christian Gentiles also bound, and that neces-
 sarily, to observe the whole Law. There went forth certain
 of the sect of Pharisees which did believe, and they coming
 unto Antioch, taught that it was necessary for the Gentiles to
 be circumcised, and to keep the Law of Moses³. Whereupon
 there grew dissension, Paul and Barnabas disputing against
 them. The determination of the council held at Jerusalem
 concerning this matter was finally this; "Touching the Gen-
 "tiles which believe, we have written and determined that
 "they observe no such thing⁴." Their protestation by
 letters is, "Forasmuch as we have heard that certain which
 "departed from us have troubled you with words, and cum-
 "bered your minds, saying, Ye must be circumcised and keep
 "the Law; know that we gave them no such commandment⁵."
 Paul therefore continued still teaching the Gentiles, not only
 that they were not bound to observe the laws of Moses, but

¹ Acts vi. 13, 14. ἁποσκήσαντες ὑπεβόησαν.] et dicitur.
² Vide Niceph. lib. iii. cap. 25. Sever. p. 149 in edit. Piant. ["Tum
 "Eri. de uoluntate Iudeos circumcisa-
 "reuerit ubi et dicitur perit rite dicitur
 "Abeliam hancque ratiorem ubi dicit
 "rta. Antiochia et rta. ratiorem
 "Iudeos dicitur de ratiorem de
³ Hierosolymis non nisi ex circum-
 "cisione habebat Ecclesia Sacer-
 "dotum." p. 364. ed. Hott. 1665.]
⁴ Acts xv.
⁵ Acts xii. 25. ⁶ Acts xv. 24.

that the observation of those laws which were necessarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether unlawful. In which point his doctrine was misreported, as though he had every where preached this, not only concerning the Gentiles, but also touching the Jews. Wherefore coming unto James and the rest of the clergy at Jerusalem, they told him plainly of it, saying, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousand Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the Law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are amongst the Gentiles to forsake Moses, and sayest that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to live after the customs¹." And hereupon they give him counsel to make it apparent in the eyes of all men, that those flying reports were untrue, and that himself being a Jew kept the Law even as they did.

In some things therefore we see the Apostles did teach, that there ought not to be conformity between the Christian Jews and Gentiles. How many things this law of inconformity did comprehend, there is no need we should stand to examine. This general is true, that the Gentiles were not made conformable unto the Jews, in that which was necessarily to cease at the coming of Christ.

[5] Touching things positive, which might either cease or continue as occasion should require, the Apostles tendering the zeal of the Jews, thought it necessary to bind even the Gentiles for a time to abstain as the Jews did, "from things offered unto idols, from blood, from strangled²." These decrees were every where delivered unto the Gentiles to be straitly observed and kept³. In the other matters, where the Gentiles were free, and the Jews in their own opinion still tied, the Apostles' doctrine unto the Jew was, "condemn not the Gentile;" unto the Gentile, "despise not the Jew⁴." The one sort they warned to take heed, that scrupulosity did not make them rigorous, in giving unadvised sentence against their brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become scandalous, by abusing their liberty and freedom to the offence of their weak brethren which were scrupulous. From hence therefore two conclusions there are which may evidently be drawn; the first, that whatsoever conformity of

¹ Acts xxi. 20. ² Acts xv. 28, 29. ³ Acts xvi. 4. ⁴ Rom. xiv. 10.

BOOK IV. positive laws the Apostles did bring in between the churches
 Ch. XL. 6. of Jews and Gentiles, it was in those things only which might
 either cease or continue a shorter or a longer time, as occasion
 did most require; the second, that they did not impose upon
 the churches of the Gentiles any part of the Jews' ordinances
 with bond of necessary and perpetual observation, (as we all
 both by doctrine and practice acknowledge,) but only in re-
 spect of the conveniency and fitness for the present state of
 the Church as then it stood. The words of the council's de-
 cree concerning the Gentiles are, "It seemed good to the
 Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no more burden
 saving only those things of necessity, abstinence from idol-
 offerings, from strangled and blood, and from fornication¹."
 So that in other things positive, which the coming of Christ
 did not necessarily extinguish, the Gentiles were left altogether
 free.

[6.] Neither ought it to seem unreasonable that the Gentiles
 should necessarily be bound and tied to Jewish ordinances, so
 far forth as that decree importeth. For to the Jew, who knew
 that their difference from other nations which were aliens and
 strangers from God, did especially consist in this, that God's
 people had positive ordinances given to them of God himself,
 it seemed marvellous hard, that the Christian Gentiles should
 be incorporated into the same commonwealth with God's own
 chosen people, and be subject to no part of his statutes, more
 than only the law of nature, which heathens count themselves
 bound unto. It was an opinion constantly received amongst
 the Jews, that God did deliver unto the sons of Noah seven
 precepts: namely, first, to live in some form of regiment un-
 der public laws; secondly, to serve and call upon the name of
 God; thirdly, to shun idolatry; fourthly, not to suffer effusion
 of blood; fifthly, to abhor all unclean knowledge in the flesh;
 sixthly, to commit no rapine; seventhly, and finally, not to eat
 of any living creature whereof the blood was not first let out².

¹ [Acts xv. 28.] cited is cap. 5, p. 16. ed. Meyer.
² Lib. qui Seder Otam inscribitur. [Or "The World's Order," being a summary of events and dates from the creation to the War of Bar Cochab, supposed to have been written about A. D. 130. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. l. 491. ed. 1715. The passage] Amsterdam, 1699. "From the Red sea they journeyed unto Marah. . . There were given unto Israel ten precepts; [Exod. xv. 23, 25] seven of them, concerning which commandment had been given to the sons of Noah.] l. 122

If therefore the Gentiles would be exempt from the law of Moses, yet it might seem hard they should also cast off even those things positive which were observed before Moses, and which were not of the same kind with laws that were necessarily to cease. And peradventure hereupon the council saw it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles should, according unto the third, the seventh, and the fifth, of those precepts, abstain from things sacrificed unto idols, from strangled and blood, and from fornication. The rest the Gentiles did of their own accord observe, nature leading them thereto.

[7.] And did not nature also teach them to abstain from fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can we with reason think, that as the former two are positive, so likewise this, being meant as the Apostle doth otherwise usually understand it¹. But very marriage within a number of degrees being not only by the law of Moses, but also by the law of the sons of Noah (for so they took it) an unlawful discovery of nakedness; this discovery of nakedness by unlawful marriages such as Moses in the law reckoneth up², I think it for mine own part more probable to have been meant in the words of that canon, than fornication according unto the sense of the law of nature. Words must be taken according to the matter wherein they are uttered. The Apostles command to abstain from blood. Construe this meaning according to the law of nature, and it will seem that homicide only is forbidden. But construe it in reference to the law of the Jews about which the question was, and it shall easily appear to have a clean other sense, and in any man's judgment a truer, when we expound it of eating and not of shedding blood. So if we speak of fornication, he that knoweth no law but only the law of nature must needs make thereof a narrower construction, than he which measureth the same by a law, wherein sundry kinds

¹[the judgments]: 2. שבת ארבעה עשר "time the Sabbath, and (שבת) judgment";
²[the malediction of the name (of "God)]: 3. שם [שבת] "more usually שבת" "strange word";
³"ship," "the worship of idols];
⁴שם [the shedding of blood]; 5. שבת [the discovery of nakedness]; 6. שבת [partaking of any member of a living creature].

"time the Sabbath, and (שבת) judgment";
 "menis," (on the difference between this and the first precept see Seiden, de Jus Nat. et Gent. ap. Heb. vii. 5. p. 809.) "and the honouring of parents." The whole passage is quoted and illustrated by Seiden, lib. i. c. 10. p. 123.
¹ Heb. xiii. 4; 1 Cor. v. 11; Gal. v. 19.
² Lev. xviii.



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as the Christian Jews at the first in the Apostles' times; some as heretics, holding the same no less even after the contrary determination set down by consent of the Church at Jerusalem; finally some being herein resolute through mere infidelity, and with open professed enmity against Christ, as unbelieving Jews.

To control slanderers of the Law and Prophets, such as Marcionites and Manichees were, the Church in her liturgies hath intermingled with readings out of the New Testament lessons taken out of the Law and Prophets; whereunto Tertullian alluding, saith of the Church of Christ¹, "It intermingleth with evangelical and apostolical writings the Law and the Prophets; and from thence it drinketh in that faith, which with water it sealeth, clobeth with the Spirit, nourisheth with the Eucharist, with martyrdom setteth forward." They would have wondered in those times to hear, that any man being not a favourer of heresy should term this by way of disdain, "mangling of the Gospels and Epistles".

[10.] They which honour the Law as an image of the wisdom of God himself, are notwithstanding to know that the same had an end in Christ. But what? Was the Law so abolished with Christ, that after his ascension the office of Priests became immediately wicked, and the very name hateful, as importing the exercise of an ungodly function? No, as long as the glory of the Temple continued, and till the time of that final desolation was accomplished, the very Christian Jews did continue with their sacrifices and other parts of legal service. That very Law therefore which our Saviour was to abolish, did not *seem* become unlawful to be

¹ Tertull. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. [c. 36. "Usam Deum novit Creatorem universitatis, et Christum Jesum ex Virgine Maria Filium Dei Creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem: legem et prophetas cum evangelicis et apostolicis literis miscet, et inde potat fidem: eam aqua signat, Sancto Spiritu vestit, eucharistia paschi, martyrio exhortatur."] ² T. C. lib. iii. p. 171. "What an abusing also is it to affirm the

"mangling of the Gospels and Epistles to have been brought into the Church by godly and learned men!" ³ T. C. lib. i. p. 216. "Seeing that the office and function of priests was after our Saviour Christ's ascension naught and ungodly; the name whereby they were called, which did exercise that ungodly function, cannot be otherwise taken than in the evil part."

BOOK IV. observed as some imagine ; nor was it afterwards unlawful as
 Ch. xl. 11. *far*, that the very name of Altar, of Priest, of Sacrifice itself,
 should be banished out of the world. For though God do
 now hate sacrifice, whether it be heathenish or Jewish, so
 that we cannot have the same things which they had but with
 impiety ; yet unless there be some greater let than the only
 evacuation of the Law of Moses, the names themselves may
 (I hope) be retained without sin, in respect of that proportion
 which things established by our Saviour have unto them
 which by him are abrogated. And so throughout all the
 writings of the ancient Fathers we see that the words which
 were do continue ; the only difference is, that whereas
 before they had a literal, they now have a metaphorical use,
 and are as so many notes of remembrance unto us, that what
 they did signify in the letter is accomplished in the truth.
 And as no man can deprive the Church of this liberty,
 to use names whereunto the Law was accustomed, so neither
 are we generally forbidden the use of things which the Law
 hath ; though it neither command us any particular rite, as it
 did the Jews a number, and the weightiest which it did com-
 mand them are unto us in the Gospel prohibited.

[11.] Touching such as through simplicity of error did
 urge universal and perpetual observation of the Law of
 Moses at the first, we have spoken already. Against Jewish
 heretics and false apostles teaching afterwards the selfsame,
 St. Paul in every epistle commonly either disputeth or giveth
 warning. Jews that were zealous for the Law, but withal
 infidels in respect of Christianity, and to the name of Jesus
 Christ most spiteful enemies, did while they flourished no
 less persecute the Church than heathens. After their estate
 was overthrown, they were not that way so much to be feared.
 Howbeit, because they had their synagogues in every famous
 city almost throughout the world, and by that means great
 opportunity to withdraw from the Christian faith, which to
 do they spared no labour ; this gave the church occasion to
 make sundry laws against them. As in the council of Laodicea³

³ Conc. Laod. Can. 37, 38. [“ Non oportet a Judæis azyma ac-
 cipere, aut communicare impieta-
 feratica que ministrant accipere, “ illos eorum.” Conc. Reg. 11.
 “ nec cum eis dies agere festos. 116.] T. C. lib. i. p. 132. [103.]

"The festival presents which Jews or heretics use to send
 "must not be received, nor Holidays solemnized in their
 "company." Again, "from the Jews men ought not to re-
 "ceive their unleavened, nor to communicate with their
 "impieties." Which council was afterwards indeed con-
 "firmed by the sixth general council. But what was the true
 sense or meaning both of the one and the other? Were
 Christians here forbidden to communicate in unleavened bread
 because the Jews did so being enemies of the Church?¹
 He which attentively shall weigh the words will suspect, that
 they rather forbid communion with Jews, than imitation of
 them: much more, if with these two decrees be compared a
 third in the Council of Constantinople, "Let no man either
 "of the clergy or laity eat the unleavened of the Jews, nor
 "enter into any familiarity with them, nor send for them
 "in sickness, nor take physic at their hands, nor as much
 "as go into the bath with them. If any do otherwise being a
 "clergyman, let him be deposed; if being a lay person, let
 "excommunication be his punishment."²

[12.] If these canons were any argument, that they which
 made them did utterly condemn similitude between the
 Christians and Jews in things indifferent appertaining unto
 religion, either because the Jews were enemies unto the
 Church, or else for that their ceremonies were abrogated;
 these reasons had been as strong and effectual against their
 keeping the feast of Easter on the same day the Jews kept
 theirs, and not according to the custom of the West church.
 For so they did from the first beginning till Constantine's
 time. For in these two things the East and West churches
 did interchangeably both confront the Jews and concur with
 them: the West church using unleavened bread, as the Jews
 in their passover did, but differing from them in the day
 whereon they kept the feast of Easter; contrariwise the
 East church celebrating the feast of Easter on the same day

¹ T. C. lib. III. p. 176. ["What
 "can be in itself more indifferent
 "than these two, forbidden the
 "Christians for that they were
 "used of the enemies of the
 "Church!"]
² Conc. Constantinop. vi. cap. 11.
 [Μηδεις των δε Ιερατων εδωκεν η
 618.]

BOOK IV. with the Jews, but not using the same kind of bread which
 Ch. XL. 19. they did. Now if so be the East church in using leavened
 bread had done ill¹, either for that the Jews were enemies
 to the Church, or because Jewish ceremonies were abrogated;
 how should we think but that Victor the bishop of Rome
 (whom all judicious men do in that behalf disallow) did
 well to be so vehement and fierce in drawing them to the
 like dissimilitude for the feast of Easter²? Again, if the
 West churches had in either of those two respects affected
 dissimilitude with the Jews in the feast of Easter, what
 reason had they to draw the Eastern church herein unto them,
 which reason did not enforce them to frame themselves unto
 it in the ceremony of leavened bread? Difference in rites
 should breed no controversy between one church and another;
 but if controversy be once bred, it must be ended. The
 feast of Easter being therefore litigious in the days of Con-
 stantine, who honoured of all other churches most the church
 of Rome, which church was the mother from whose breasts
 he had drawn that food, which gave him nourishment to
 eternal life; sith agreement was necessary, and yet impossible
 unless the one part were yielded unto; his desire was that of
 the two the Eastern church should rather yield. And to this
 end he useth sundry persuasive speeches.

When Stephen the Bishop of Rome going about to shew
 what the Catholic Church should do, had alleged what the
 heretics themselves did, namely, that they received such as
 came unto them, and offered not to baptize them anew;
 St. Cyprian being of a contrary mind to him about the matter
 at that time in question, which was, "Whether heretics con-
 verted ought to be rebaptized, yea or no?" answered the
 allegation of Pope Stephen with exceeding great stomach,
 saying, "To this degree of wretchedness the church of God
 and Spouse of Christ is now come, that her ways she frameth
 to the example of heretics; that to celebrate the Sacraments

¹ [So it stands in the original Mr. Hanbury. The correction ap-
 edition, p. 194. But it is most likely an oversight, the sense re-
 quiring "not done ill," or "done
 well;" which reading has been
 followed by all the editors except

² [Euseb. v. 24.]
 [* The correction "had done well," is Spenser's, tacitly made in his edition of
 1664; followed in the 4th edition, 1677; 1885.]

"which heavenly instruction hath delivered, light itself doth
"borrow from darkness, and Christians do that which Anti-
"christ do!"

Now albeit Constantine have done that to further a better cause, which Cyprian did to countenance a worse, namely the rebaptization of heretics, and have taken advantage at the odiousness of the Jews, as Cyprian of heretics, because the Eastern church kept their feast of Easter always the fourteenth day of the month, as the Jews did, what day of the week soever it fell; or howsoever Constantine did take occasion in the handling of that cause to say, "It is unworthy to have any thing common with that spiteful nation of the Jews?": shall every motive argument used in such kind of conferences be made a rule for others still to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like nature, when as probable inducements may lead them to the contrary? Let both this and other allegations suitable unto it cease to bark any longer idly against that truth, the course and passage whereof it is not in them to hinder.

XII. But the weightiest exception, and of all the most ^{their es-} worthy to be respected, is against such kind of ceremonies ^{opious} as have been so grossly and shamefully abused in the church ^{against} of Rome, that where they remain they are scandalous, yea, ^{such cere-} have been ^{monies as}

¹ Cypr. ad Pomp. cont. Stephan. cap. 18. "Quid preestabilis, quidve
Ep. 74. § 2. "Ad hoc enim ¹ augustus esse poterat, quam ut
"malorum devoluta est Ecclesia ² hoc festum, per quod spern im-
"Dei et sponsa Christi, ut hære- ³ mortalitatis nobis ostentatam ha-
"ticorum exempla sectetur, ut ad ⁴ beritas, uno modo et ratione apud
"celebranda sacramenta cœlestis ⁵ omnes integre sancteque obser-
"discipline lax de trabeis mu- ⁶ varetur? Ac primum omnium
"tuetur, et id faciant Christiani, ⁷ indignum plane videbatur, ut
"quod Antichristi faciunt." ⁸ ritus et consuetudinem imitantes
⁹ Socrat. Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. v. ¹⁰ Judæorum (qui, quoniam suas
c. 22. "Fieri que in Asia minore ¹¹ ipsorum manus immani sceleris
"antiquis 14 die mensis, nulla ¹² polluerant, merito, ut sceleris
"ratione diei Sabbati habita, hoc ¹³ decet, carco animum errore te-
"festum observarunt. Quod dum ¹⁴ neritur irretiri) istud festum sanc-
"faciebant, cum aliis, qui aliam ra- ¹⁵ tissimum ageremus. In nostra
"tionem in eodem festo agendo ¹⁶ enim situm est potestate, ut, illo-
"sequerantur, usque eo nequaquam ¹⁷ rum more rejecto, veriore ac magis
"dissenserunt, quoad Victor epi- ¹⁸ sincero instituta (quod quidem
"scopus Romanus, supra modum ¹⁹ usque a prima passionis die
"inacunda infamatus, omnes in ²⁰ hactenus recolumus) hujus festi
"Asia qui erant ~~evagavimus~~ ²¹ celebrationem ad posterum se-
"rura appellati excommunicaverit. ²² culorum memoriam propagemus.
"Ob quod factum Irenæus episcopus ²³ Nihil igitur sit nobis cum Jude-
"Lugdunus in Victorem per epi- ²⁴ orum turba, omnium odiosa ma-
"stolam graviter invecus est." ²⁵ ime."
Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii.

kind that Tertullian meaneth: "Offence or scandal, if I be not deceived (saith he), is, when the example not of a good but of an evil thing doth set men forward unto sin. Good things can scandalize none save only evil minds;" good things have no scandalizing nature in them.

[3.] Yet that which is of its own nature either good or at least not evil, may by some accident become scandalous at certain times and in certain places and to certain men; the open use thereof nevertheless being otherwise without danger. The very nature of some rites and ceremonies therefore is scandalous, as it was in a number of those which the Manichees did use, and is in all such as the law of God doth forbid. Some are offensive only through the agreement of men to use them unto evil, and not else; as the most of those things indifferent which the heathens did to the service of their false gods, which another, in heart condemning their idolatry, could not do with them in show and token of approbation without being guilty of scandal given. Ceremonies of this kind are either devised at the first unto evil, as the Eunomian heretics in dishonour of the blessed Trinity brought in the laying on of water but once¹, to cross the custom of the church which in baptism did it thrice; or else having had a profitable use they are afterwards interpreted and wrested to the contrary, as those heretics which held the Trinity to be three distinct not persons but natures, abused the ceremony of three times laying on water in baptism unto the strengthening of their heresy². The element of water is in baptism necessary; once to lay it on or twice is indifferent. For which cause Gregory making mention thereof saith³, "To dive an infant

BOOK IV
Ch. vi. 3

¹ [Socron. vi. 26. φασὶ δὲ ἓνα, κρῖνον τοῦτο ἐπέμεινε ταλάρῳ ἐκ-
εργασθῆναι, ἐν μὲν κεραιῶσι χρίσας
ἐπιπέσει τῶ θεῷ δίδοντες, καὶ τρεῖς
χρόνια τῆ θεῷ εἶναι Ἀποστόλων εἰσὶν,
οἷα ἐν αἰσὶ φελοσσομένη παραδοῦσα.]
² [Concil. Tolos. iv. Can. 6. t. v.
p. 1706. "Propter vitandum schis-
matis scandalum, vel heretici dog-
matis omnia, simpliciter tenemus
" baptismi mersionem; ne videatur
" apud nos, qui tertio mergunt, he-
" reticorum approbare assentionem
" dum sequuntur et morem."] ³ Epist. ad Leandrum Hisp. [lib.
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i. ep. 43. "De trina vero mersione
" baptismatis nil responderi veritas
" potest quam ipsi sensitis; quia
" in una fide nihil officii ecclesie
" consuetudo diversa. Nos autem
" quod tertio mergimus, triduanam
" sepulture sacramenta signamus,
" ut dum tertio infans ab aquis edu-
" citur, resurrectio triduumi tempo-
" ris expiatur. Quod si quis forte
" etiam pro summe Trinitatis vene-
" ratione extinet fieri, neque ad
" hoc aliquis obicit, baptismatum
" semel in aquis mergere; quia
" dum in tribus subsistentis una



"either thrice or but once in baptism, can be no way a thing reprovable; seeing that both in three times washing the Trinity of persons, and in one the Unity of Godhead may be signified." So that of these two ceremonies neither being hurtful in itself, both may serve unto good purpose; yet one was devised, and the other converted, unto evil.

[4.] Now whereas in the church of Rome certain ceremonies are said to have been shamefully abused unto evil, as the ceremony of crossing at baptism, of kneeling at the eucharist, of using wafer-cakes, and such like; the question is, whether for remedy of that evil wherein such ceremonies have been scandalous, and perhaps may be still unto some even amongst ourselves, whom the presence and sight of them may confirm in that former error whereto they served in times past, they are of necessity to be removed. Are these, or any other ceremonies we have common with the church of Rome, scandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man objecteth. Are any such as have been polluted from their very birth, and instituted even at the first unto that thing which is evil? That which hath been ordained impiously at the first, may wear out that impiety in tract of time; and then what doth let but that the use thereof may stand without offence? The names of our months and of our days we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what dishonour unto God they are said to have been devised at the first¹. What could be spoken against any thing more effectual to stir hatred, than that which sometime the ancient Fathers in this case speak? Yet those very names are at this day in use

¹ "substantia est, reprehensibile esse
" nullatenus potest, infancem in bap-
" tismate vel ter vel semel mergere :
" quando et in tribus mersionibus
" personarum Trinitas, et in una po-
" tate divinitatis singularitas deag-
" nari." II. 532.]

[Euseb. Emis.] Hom. xi. de
Pasch. [p. 366. par. 1. t. v. Biblioth.
Patr. Colon.] "Idololatricæ consu-
" tudo in tantum homines occuca-
" verat, ut Solis, Lunæ, Martis
" atque Mercurii, Jovis, Veneris,
" Saturni, et diversis elementorum
" ac demonum appellationibus dies
" vocarent, et luci tenebrarum no-

" men imponerent." Heda de Ra-
" tion. Temp. cap. 4. [6.] " Octavus
" dies idem primus est, ad quem
" reditur, indeque [i. eoque] rursus
" hebdomada inchoatur [i. e. semper
" editur.] Hæc nomina a planetis
" Gentilitas indidit, habere se cre-
" dens a Sole spiritum, a Luna cor-
" pus, a Marte sanguinem, a Mercurio
" ingenium et linguam, a Jove
" temperantiam, a Venere volupta-
" tem, a Saturno tarditatem." Ibid.
" Hist. lib. v. Etymol. cap. 30. [p.
" 338. ed. Gothofred.] " Dies dicti a
" diis, quorum nomina Romani qui-
" budam sideribus sacraverunt."

throughout Christendom without hurt or scandal to any. Clear book iv.
 and manifest it is, that things devised by heretics, yea, devised Ch. 12. 5.
 of a very heretical purpose even against religion, and at their
 first devising worthy to have been withstood, may in time grow
 meet to be kept; as that custom, the inventors whereof were
 the Eunomian heretics. So that customs once established and
 confirmed by long use, being presently without harm, are not
 in regard of their corrupt original to be held scandalous.

[5.] But concerning those our ceremonies which they reckon
 for most popish, they are not able to avouch, that any of them
 was otherwise instituted than unto good, yea, so used at the
 first. It followeth then that they all are such, as having
 served to good purpose, were afterwards converted unto the
 contrary. And sith it is not so much as objected against us,
 that we retain together with them the evil wherewith they
 have been infected in the church of Rome, I would demand
 who they are whom we scandalize, by using harmless things
 unto that good end for which they were first instituted.
 Amongst ourselves that agree in the approbation of this kind
 of good use, no man will say that one of us is offensive and
 scandalous unto another. As for the favourers of the church
 of Rome, they know how far we herein differ and dissent from
 them; which thing neither we conceal, and they by their
 public writings also profess daily how much it grieveth them;
 so that of them there will not many rise up against us, as
 witnesses unto the indictment of scandal, whereby we might
 be condemned and cast, as having strengthened them in that
 evil wherewith they pollute themselves in the use of the same
 ceremonies. And concerning such as withstand the church
 of England herein, and hate it because it doth not sufficiently
 seem to hate Rome; they (I hope) are far enough from being
 by this mean drawn to any kind of popish error. The multi-
 tude therefore of them, unto whom we are scandalous through
 the use of abused ceremonies, is not so apparent, that it can
 justly be said in general of any one sort of men or other, we
 cause them to offend. If it be so, that now or then some few
 are espied, who, having been accustomed heretofore to the
 rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome, are not so scoured
 of their former rust as to forsake their ancient persuasion
 which they have had, howsoever they frame themselves to

BOOK IV. outward obedience of laws and orders: because such may
 Ch. vi. 4. misconstrue the meaning of our ceremonies, and so take them
 ----- as though they were in every sort the same they have been,
 shall this be thought a reason sufficient whereon to conclude
 that some law must necessarily be made to abolish all such
 ceremonies?

[5.] They answer, that there is no law of God which doth bind us to retain them. And St. Paul's rule is, that in those things from which without hurt we may lawfully abstain, we should frame the usage of our liberty with regard to the weakness and imbecility of our brethren. Wherefore unto them which stood upon their own defence saying, "All things are lawful unto me;" he replieth, "but all things are not expedient" in regard of others. "All things are clean, all meats are lawful; but evil unto that man that eateth offensively. If for thy meat's sake thy brother be grieved, thou walkest no longer according to charity. Destroy not him with thy meat for whom Christ died. Dissolve not for food's sake the work of God¹. We that are strong must bear the imbecilities of the impotent, and not please ourselves!" It was a weakness in the Christian Jews, and a main of judgment in them, that they thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of those meats which themselves were afraid to touch for fear of transgressing the law of Moses; yea, hereat their hearts did so much rise, that the Apostle had just cause to fear, lest they would rather forsake Christianity than endure any fellowship with such as made no conscience of that which was unto them abominable. And for this cause mention is made of destroying the weak by meats, and of dissolving the work of God², which was his Church, a part of the living stones whereof were believing Jews. Now those weak brethren before-mentioned are said to be as the Jews were, and our ceremonies which have been abused in the church of Rome to be as the scandalous meats, from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abstain in the presence of Jews, for fear of averting them from Christian faith. Therefore, as charity did bind them to refrain from that for their brethren's sake, which otherwise was lawful enough for them; so it

¹ [1 Cor. vi. 12.]
 [Rom. xiv. 20, 15, 20.]

² [Rom. xv. 1.]
 Rom. xiv. 1. 1.

bindeth us for our brethren's sake likewise to abolish such ceremonies, although we might lawfully else retain them.

[7.] But between these two cases there are great odds. For neither are our weak brethren as the Jews, nor the ceremonies which we use as the meats which the Gentiles used. The Jews were known to be generally weak in that respect; whereas contrariwise the imbecility of ours is not common unto so many, that we can take any such certain notice of them. It is a chance if here and there some one be found; and therefore seeing we may presume men commonly otherwise, there is no necessity that our practice should frame itself by that which the Apostle doth prescribe to the Gentiles.

Again, their use of meats was not like unto our of ceremonies, that being a matter of private action in common life, where every man was free to order that which himself did; but this a public constitution for the ordering of the Church; and we are not to look that the Church should change her public laws and ordinances, made according to that which is judged ordinarily and commonly fittest for the whole, although it chance that for some particular men the same be found inconvenient¹; especially when there may be other remedy also against the sores of particular inconveniences. In this case therefore where any private harm doth grow, we are not to reject instruction, as being an unmeet plaster to apply unto it; neither can we say, that he which appointeth teachers for physicians in this kind of evil, is "As if a man would set one to watch a child all day long lest he should hurt himself with a knife; whereas by taking away the knife from him, the danger is avoided, and the service of the man better employed²." For a knife may be taken away from a child, without depriving them of the benefit thereof which have years and discretion to use it. But the ceremonies which children do abuse if we remove quite and clean, as it is by some required that we should, then are they not taken from children only, but from others also; which is as though because children may perhaps hurt themselves with knives,

¹ Vide Harmenop. [Harmenopoli sect. 28. [καταλειποντες γαρ οι νεοι Προπυλαιου Juris.] (Grek's Jurist and Canonist, 1300-1305. 11). 1266. p. 20. ed. Gothof.]
² T. C. lib. iii. p. 178. [156.]
 and by Gothof. 1587. lib. i. tit. i.

BOOK IV. we should conclude, that therefore the use of knives is to be
 Ch. vi. 8. taken quite and clean even from men also.

[8.] Those particular ceremonies, which they pretend to be so scandalous, we shall in the next Book have occasion more thoroughly to sift, where other things also traduced in the public duties of the Church whereunto each of these appertaineth, are together with these to be touched, and such reasons to be examined as have at any time been brought either against the one or the other. In the meanwhile against the conveniency of curing such evils by instruction, strange it is that they should object the multitude of other necessary matters, wherein preachers may better bestow their time, than in giving men warning not to abuse ceremonies¹: a wonder it is, that they should object this, which have so many years together troubled the Church with quarrels concerning these things, and are even to this very hour so earnest in them, that if they write or speak publicly but five words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous estate of the church of England in respect of abused ceremonies. How much happier had it been for this whole Church, if they which have raised contention therein about the abuse of rites and ceremonies, had considered in due time that there is indeed store of matters fitter and better a great deal for teachers to spend time and labour in! It is through their importunate and vehement asseverations, more than through any such experience which we have had of our own, that we are forced to think it possible for one or other now and then, at leastwise in the prime of the reformation of our church, to have stumbled at some kind of ceremony: wherein forasmuch as we are contented to take this upon their credit, and to think it may be; sith also they further pretend the same to be so dangerous a snare to their souls that are at any time

¹ T. C. lib. iii. p. 177. "It is are, "A counsell not so convenient, "not so convenient that the minis- "that the ministers and pastors, "ters, having so many necessary "which have so many necessary "points to bestow his time in, "points to bestow their time on, "should be driven to spend it in "and so inform the people of, should "giving warning of not abusing "be driven to cut off their time "them, of which (although they "appointed thereto, to teach them "were used to the best) there is "not to abuse these things, which "no profit." [See also i. 15. ap. "if they use never so well, they can "Whigg. Defence, 277. The words "gain nothing."]

taken therein; they must give our teachers leave for the saving of those souls (be they never so few) to intermingle sometime with other more necessary things admonition concerning these not unnecessary. Wherein they should in reason more easily yield this leave, considering that hereunto we shall not need to use the hundredth part of that time, which themselves think very needful to bestow in making most bitter invectives against the ceremonies of the Church.

XIII. But to come to the last point of all; the church of England is grievously charged with forgetfulness of her duty, which duty had been to frame herself unto the pattern of their example that went before her in the work of reformation. ¹ For "as the churches of Christ ought to be most unlike the synagogue of Antichrist in their indifferent ceremonies; so they ought to be most like one unto another and for preservation of unity to have as much as possible may be all the same ceremonies. And therefore St. Paul, to establish this order in the church of Corinth, that they should make their gatherings for the poor upon the first day of the Sabbath², (which is our Sunday,) allegeth this for a reason³, That he had so ordained in other churches." Again, "As children of one father and servants of one family, so all churches should not only have one diet in that they have one word, but also wear as it were one livery in using the same ceremonies." Thirdly, "This rule did the great council of Nice follow⁴, when it ordained, that where certain at the feast of Pentecost did pray kneeling, they should pray standing: the reason whereof is added, which is, that one custom ought to be kept throughout all churches. It is true that the diversity of ceremonies ought not to cause the churches to dissent one with another; but yet it maketh most to the avoiding of dissension, that there be amongst them an unity not only in doctrine, but also in ceremonies. And therefore our form of service is to be amended, not only for that it cometh too near that of the

¹ T. C. lib. I. p. 133. [104.] provide against kneeling at prayer on Sundays, or for fifty days after Easter on any day, and not at the feast of Pentecost only. [i. 208, 161]. V. note p. 372.] 1886.
² 1 Cor. xvi. 1.
³ Can. 20. The canon of that council which is here cited doth

BOOK IV.
 Ch. xlii. v.

Our ceremonies excepted, for that some churches reformed before ours have cast out those things which we answerably standing their example to take still.

BOOK IV. "Papists, but also because it is so different from that of the
 Ch. 38. s. 4. "reformed churches".¹ Being asked² to what churches ours
 should conform itself, and why other reformed churches should
 not as well frame themselves to ours; their answer is, "that
 "if there be any ceremonies which we have better than others,
 "they ought to frame themselves to us; if they have better
 "than we, then we ought to frame ourselves to them; if the
 "ceremonies be alike commodious, the later churches should
 "conform themselves to the first, as the younger daughter to
 "the elder. For as St. Paul in the members, where all other
 "things are equal, noteth it for a mark of honour above the
 "rest, that one is called before another to the Gospel³; so is
 "it for the same cause amongst the churches. And in this
 "respect he pincheth the Corinthians⁴, that not being the first
 "which received the Gospel, yet they would have their several
 "manners from other churches. Moreover, where the cere-
 "monies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conform
 "themselves unto the moe. Forasmuch therefore as all the
 "churches" (so far as they know which plead after this
 "manner)" of our confession in doctrine agree in the abroga-
 "tion of divers things which we retain, our church ought
 "either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found
 "to be in fault that doth not conform herself in that, which
 "she cannot deny to be well abrogated".

[2.] In this axiom, that preservation of peace and unity
 amongst Christian churches should be by all good means
 procured, we join most willingly and gladly with them.
 Neither deny we but that to the avoiding of dissension it
 availeth much that there be amongst them an unity as well
 in ceremonies as in doctrine. The only doubt is about the
 manner of their unity; how far churches are bound to be
 uniform in their ceremonies, and what way they ought to
 take for that purpose.

[3.] Touching the one, the rule which they have set down
 is, that in ceremonies indifferent, all churches ought to be
 one of them unto another as like as *possibly*⁵ they may be.
 Which *possibly* we cannot otherwise construe, than that it

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 182, 183.
² By Whigg, Def. 481.
³ Rom. xvi. 5, 7.

⁴ 1 Cor. xiv. 36.
⁵ [T. C. lib. i. 183.]
 [T. C. l. 104.]

BOOK IV.
Ch. XII. 4. 5

[4.] They which grant it true that the diversity of ceremonies in this kind ought not to cause dissension in churches, must either acknowledge that they grant in effect nothing by these words; or if any thing be granted, there must as much be yielded unto, as we affirm against their former strict assertion. For if churches be urged by way of duty to take such ceremonies as they like not of, how can dissension be avoided? Will they say that there ought to be no dissension, because such as be urged ought to like of that whereunto they are urged? If they say this, they say just nothing. For how should any church like to be urged of duty, by such as have no authority or power over it, unto those things which being indifferent it is not of duty bound unto them? Is it their meaning, that there ought to be no dissension, because, that which churches are not bound unto, no man ought by way of duty to urge upon them; and if any man do, he standeth in the sight of both God and men most justly blameable, as a needless disturber of the peace of God's Church, and an author of dissension? In saying this, they both condemn their own practice, when they press the church of England with so strict a bond of duty in these things; and they overthrow the ground of their practice, which is, that there ought to be in all kind of ceremonies uniformity, unless impossibility hinder it.

[5.] For proof whereof it is not enough to allege what St. Paul did about the matter of collections, or what noblemen do in the liveries of their servants, or what the council of Nice did for standing in time of prayer on certain days: because though St. Paul did will them of the church of Corinth¹ every man to lay up somewhat by him upon the Sunday, and to

¹ ad versipellem quendam mediator, qui pacificandi specie rectum Evangelii cursum in Gallia absumptere conatus est." *Quantum ad ritus particulares, viget sane Augustini sententia; ut singulis ecclesiis liberum sit morem suum tenere; imo interdum utile esse, se externis ceremoniis alligetur religio, aliquid esse varietatis; modo abest emulatio, nec alii ab aliis novitate sibi diversum aliquid habere affectum." Tract. Theol. p. 414, Genev. 1597. The*

"versipellis mediator" was Cassander, who in 1561 published a tract *De officio pii ac publice tranquilliatis vere amantis viri in hoc religionis dissidio.*

² T. C. lib. I. p. 135. [104.] And therefore St. Paul, to establish this order in the church of Corinth, that they should make their gatherings for the poor upon the first day of the Sabbath, (which is our Sunday,) allegeth this for a reason, That he had so ordained in other churches."

Allegations from St. Paul to the contrary inconclusive. 475

reserve it in store, till himself did come thither to send it unto the church of Jerusalem for relief of the poor there; signifying withal, that he had taken the like order with the churches of Galatia; yet the reason which he yieldeth of this order taken both in the one place and the other, sheweth the least part of his meaning to have been that whereunto his words are writtē. "Concerning collection for the saints, (he meaneth them of Jerusalem,) as I have given order to the church of Galatia, so likewise do ye," saith the Apostle; "that is, in every first of the week let each of you lay aside by himself, and reserve according to that which God hath blessed him with, that when I come collections be not then to make; and that when I am come, whom you shall choose, them I may forthwith send away by letters to carry your beneficence unto Jerusalem¹." Out of which words to conclude the duty of uniformity throughout all churches in all manner of indifferent ceremonies will be very hard, and therefore best to give it over.

[6.] But perhaps they are by so much the more loth to forsake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing else, yet the name of Scripture, to give it some kind of countenance more than the next of livery coats afforded them². For neither is it any man's duty to clothe all his children or all his servants with one weed, nor theirs to clothe themselves so, if it were left to their own judgments, as these ceremonies are left of God to the judgment of the Church. And seeing churches are rather in this case like divers families than like divers servants of one family; because every church, the state whereof is independent upon any other, hath authority to appoint orders for itself in things indifferent: therefore of the two we may rather infer, that as one family is not abridged of liberty to be clothed in friar's-grey for that another doth wear clay-colour, so neither are all churches bound to the selfsame indifferent ceremonies which it liketh sundry to use.

[7.] As for that canon in the council of Nice, let them but

¹ 1 Cor. xvi. 1. "have one diet in that they have
² T. C. lib. i. p. 133. [104] "one word, but also wear as it were
 "So that as children of one father, "one livery in using the same cere-
 "and servants of one master, be "monies."
 "will have all the churches not only

BOOK IV. read it and weigh it well. The ancient use of the Church
CH. III. throughout all Christendom was for fifty days after Easter,
 (which fifty days were called Pentecost, though most commonly
 the last day of them which is Whitsunday be so called,) in
 like sort on all the Sundays throughout the whole year their
 manner was, to stand at prayer; whereupon their meetings
 unto that purpose on those days had the name of Stations
 given them¹. Of which custom Tertullian speaketh in this
 wise; "It is not with us thought fit either to fast on the
 " Lord's day, or to pray kneeling. The same immunity from
 " fasting and kneeling we keep all the time which is between
 " the feasts of Easter and Pentecost²." This being therefore
 an order generally received in the Church; when some
 began to be singular and different from all others, and that
 in a ceremony which was then judged very convenient for
 the whole church even by the whole, those few excepted
 which brake out of the common pale: the council of Nice
 thought good to enclose them again with the rest, by a law
 made in this sort: "Because there are certain which will
 " needs kneel at the time of prayer on the Lord's-day, and
 " in the fifty days after Easter; the holy synod judging it
 " meet that a convenient custom be observed throughout all
 " churches, hath decreed that standing we make our prayers
 " to the Lord³." Whereby it plainly appeareth that in
 things indifferent, what the whole Church doth think con-
 venient for the whole, the same if any part do wilfully
 violate, it may be reformed and inrolled again by that general
 authority whereunto each particular is subject; and that the
 spirit of singularity in a few ought to give place unto public
 judgment: this doth clearly enough appear, but not that all
 Christian churches are bound in every indifferent ceremony
 to be uniform; because where the whole hath not tied the
 parts unto one and the same thing, they being therein left

¹ De Coc. Milit. c. 3. [² Die "geniculis adorare, et jejunium
 " Dominico jejunium nefas dici- "solvere, &c. De Coc. Militia."
 "mus, vel de geniculis adorare. [³ Евѣнѣи стѣи оубо въ рѣ сп-
 " Eadem immunitate a die pasche пасѣхъ яѣну шѣнѣеи, ели въ стѣи стѣи
 " in Pentecosten usque gaude- Πεντηκοστής ἡμέρας. ἕως τοῦ ἡμέρας
 " mus."] ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πεντηκοστῆς ἡμερῶν ἀναπαύε-
 " T. C. lib. 1. p. 133. [104.] σασθῶν, ἐκείναις ἡμέραις ἐπὶ ἡμῶν
 " This rule did the great council of stῆσι εὐχῆ ἀποκλῆσαι ἐπὶ τῆσι. Can.
 " Nice follow, &c. Die Dominico et 20. ap. Routh, Scrip. Ecclies. Opusc.
 " per omnem Pentecosten, nec de 367.]

each to their own choice, may either do as other do or else otherwise, without any breach of duty at all.

[8.] Concerning those indifferent things, wherein it hath been heretofore thought good that all Christian churches should be uniform, the way which they now conceive to bring this to pass was then never thought on. For till now it hath been judged, that seeing the Law of God doth not prescribe all particular ceremonies which the Church of Christ may use; and in so great variety of them as may be found out, it is not possible that the law of nature and reason should direct all churches unto the same things, each deliberating by itself what is most convenient; the way to establish the same things indifferent throughout them all must needs be the judgment of some judicial authority drawn into one only sentence, which may be a rule for every particular to follow. And because such authority over all churches is too much to be granted unto any one mortal man, there yet remaineth that which hath been always followed as the best, the safest, the most sincere and reasonable way; namely, the verdict of the whole Church orderly taken, and set down in the assembly of some general council. But to maintain that all Christian churches ought for unity's sake to be uniform in all ceremonies, and then to teach that the way of bringing this to pass must be by mutual imitation, so that where we have better ceremonies than others they shall be bound to follow us, and we them where theirs are better; how should we think it agreeable and consonant unto reason? For sith in things of this nature there is such variety of particular inducements, whereby one church may be led to think that better which another church led by other inducements judgeth to be worse: (for example, the East church did think it better to keep Easter-day after the manner of the Jews, the West church better to do otherwise; the Greek church judgeth it worse to use unleavened bread in the Eucharist, the Latin church leavened; one church esteemeth it not so good to receive the Eucharist sitting as standing, another church not so good standing as sitting; there being on the one side probable motives as well as on the other;) unless they add somewhat else to define more certainly what ceremonies shall stand for best, in such sort that all churches in

BOOK IV. the world shall know them to be the best, and so know them
 CH. XII. 4. that there may not remain any question about this point, we
 are not a whit the nearer for that they have hitherto said.

[9.] They themselves, although resolved in their own judgments what ceremonies are best, yet foreseeing that such as they are addicted unto be not all so clearly and so incomparably best, but others there are or may be at leastwise, when all things are well considered, as good, knew not which way smoothly to rid their hands of this matter, without providing some more certain rule to be followed for establishment of uniformity in ceremonies, when there are divers kinds of equal goodness; and therefore in this case they say, that the later churches and the fewer should conform themselves unto the elder and the *moe*¹. Hereupon they conclude, that forasmuch as all the reformed churches (so far as they know), which are of our confession in doctrine, have agreed already in the abrogation of divers things which we retain; our church ought either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault for not conforming herself to those churches, in that which she cannot deny to be in them well abrogated. For the authority of the first churches, (and those they account to be the first in this cause which were first reformed,) they bring the comparison of younger daughters conforming themselves in attire to the example of their elder sisters; wherein there is just as much strength of reason as in the livery-coats before-mentioned. St. Paul, they say, noteth it for a mark of special honour, that Epanetus was the first man in all Achaia which did embrace the Christian faith²; after the same sort he toucheth it also as a special preeminence of Junias³ and Andronicus, that in Christianity they were his ancients⁴; the Corinthians he pinched with this demand, "Hath the word of God gone out from you, or hath it lighted on you alone?"⁵

But what of all this? If any man should think that alacrity

¹ T. C. lib. iii. p. 183. "If the ceremonies be alike commodious, the later churches should conform themselves to the first," &c. And again, "The fewer ought to conform themselves unto the *moe*." ² Rom. xvi. 5. ³ [Junias,] so A. B. 1617, as if ⁴ Rom. xvi. 7. ⁵ 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

like "Amplias," &c. by mistaken analogy. He takes the gender to be determined by the following qualification: "reis *evangeliois* *par* . . . *abuse*." "*Cognatio et consanguinitas* *maioris* *gradus* . . ." but comp. v. 3.] 1886.

The later Church not bound to follow the elder. 479

and forwardness in good things doth add nothing unto men's commendation, the two former speeches of St. Paul might lead him to reform his judgment. In like sort, to take down the stomach of proud conceited men, that glory as though they were able to set all others to school, there can be nothing more fit than some such words as the Apostle's third sentence doth contain; wherein he teacheth the church of Corinth to know, that there was no such great odds between them and the rest of their brethren, that they should think themselves to be gold and the rest to be but copper. He therefore useth speech unto them to this effect: "Men instructed in the knowledge of Jesus Christ there both were before you, and are besides you in the world; ye neither are the fountain from which first, nor yet the river into which alone the word hath flowed." But although as Epānetus was the first man in all Achaia, so Corinth had been the first church in the whole world, that received Christ; the Apostle doth not shew that in any kind of things indifferent whatsoever this should have made their example a law unto all others. Indeed the example of sundry churches for approbation of one thing doth sway much; but yet still as having the force of an example only, and not of a law. They are effectual to move any church, unless some greater thing do hinder; but they bind none, no not though they be many; saving only when they are the major part of a general assembly, and then their voices being more in number must overway their judgments who are fewer, because in such cases the greater half is the whole. But as they stand out single each of them by itself, their number can purchase them no such authority, that the rest of the churches being fewer should be therefore bound to follow them, and to relinquish as good ceremonies as theirs for theirs.

[10.] Whereas therefore it is concluded out of these so weak premises, that the retaining of divers things in the church of England, which other reformed churches have cast out, must needs argue that we do not well, unless we can shew that they have done ill¹; what needed this wrest to

¹ T. C. lib. iii. p. 183. "Our church ought either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault that doth not conform herself in that which she cannot deny to be well abrogated."

480 *Rule of the English Reformation as to Ceremonies.*

BOOK IV. draw out from us an accusation of foreign churches? It is
Ch. XII. 1. not proved as yet that if they have done well our duty is to
 follow them, and to forsake our own course because it differeth
 from theirs, although indeed it be as well for us every way
 as theirs for them. And if the proofs alleged for confirma-
 tion hereof had been sound, yet seeing they lead no further
 than only to shew, that where we can have no better cere-
 monies theirs must be taken; as they cannot with modesty
 think themselves to have found out absolutely the best which
 the wit of men may devise, so liking their own somewhat
 better than other men's, even because they are their own,
 they must in equity allow us to be like unto them in this
 affection; which if they do, they ease us of that uncourteous
 burden, whereby we are charged either to condemn them or
 else to follow them. They grant we need not follow them, if
 our own ways already be better; and if our own be but equal,
 the law of common indulgence alloweth us to think them at
 the least half a thought the better because they are our own;
 which we may very well do, and never draw any indictment
 at all against theirs, but think commendably even of them
 also.

A declara-
 tion of the
 proceed-
 ings of the
 Church of
 England
 for estab-
 lishment of
 things as
 they are. XIV. To leave reformed churches therefore and their ac-
 tions for Him to judge of, in whose sight they are as they are;
 and our desire is that they may even in his sight be found
 such as we ought to endeavour by all means that our own may
 likewise be; somewhat we are enforced to speak by way of
 simple declaration concerning the proceedings of the church
 of England in these affairs, to the end that men whose minds
 are free from those partial constructions, whereby the only
 name of difference from some other churches is thought cause
 sufficient to condemn ours, may the better discern whether
 that we have done be reasonable, yea or no. The church of
 England being to alter her received laws concerning such
 orders, rites, and ceremonies, as had been in former times an
 hinderance unto piety and religious service of God, was to
 enter into consideration first, that the change of laws, espe-
 cially concerning matter of religion, must be warily proceeded
 in. Laws, as all other things human, are many times full of
 imperfection; and that which is supposed behoveful unto men,
 proveth oftentimes most pernicious. The wisdom which is

Change of Laws at best is the least of two Evils. 481

learned by tract of time, findeth the laws that have been in former ages established, needful in later to be abrogated. Besides, that which sometime is expedient doth not always so continue: and the number of needless laws unabolished doth weaken the force of them that are necessary. But true without it is, that alteration though it be from worse to better hath in it inconveniences, and those weighty; unless it be in such laws as have been made upon special occasions, which occasions ceasing, laws of that kind do abrogate themselves. But when we abrogate a law as being ill made, the whole cause for which it was made still remaining, do we not herein revoke our very own deed, and upbraid ourselves with folly, yea, all that were makers of it with oversight and with error? Further, if it be a law which the custom and continual practice of many ages or years hath confirmed in the minds of men, to alter it must needs be troublesome and scandalous. It amazeth them, it causeth them to stand in doubt whether any thing be in itself by nature either good or evil, and not all things rather such as men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold even those things disapproved, disannulled, rejected, which use had made in a manner natural. What have we to induce men unto the willing obedience and observation of laws, but the weight of so many men's judgment as have with deliberate advice assented thereunto; the weight of that long experience, which the world hath had thereof with consent and good liking? So that to change any such law must needs with the common sort impair and weaken the force of those grounds, whereby all laws are made effectual.

[a.] Notwithstanding we do not deny alteration of laws to be sometimes a thing necessary; as when they are unnatural, or impious, or otherwise hurtful unto the public community of men, and against that good for which human societies were instituted. When the Apostles of our Lord and Saviour were ordained to alter the laws of heathenish religion received throughout the whole world, chosen I grant they were (Paul excepted) the rest ignorant, poor, simple, unschooled altogether and unlettered men; howbeit extraordinarily endued with ghostly wisdom from above before they ever undertook this enterprise; yea their authority confirmed by miracle, to

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BOOK IV.
Ch. 4th. 4.

BOOK IV. the end it might plainly appear that they were the Lord's
 Ch. xlv. > ambassadors, unto whose sovereign power for all flesh to stoop,
 for all the kingdoms of the earth to yield themselves willingly
 conformable in whatsoever should be required, it was their
 duty. In this case therefore their oppositions in maintenance
 of public superstition against apostolic endeavours, as that they
 might not condemn the ways of their ancient predecessors, that
 they must keep *religiones traditas*, the rites which from age to
 age had descended, that the ceremonies of religion had been
 ever accounted by so much holier as elder¹; these and the like
 allegations in this case were vain and frivolous.

Not to stay longer therefore in speech concerning this point,
 we will conclude, that as the change of such laws as have been
 specified is necessary, so the evidence that they are such must
 be great. If we have neither voice from heaven that so pronounceth
 of them, neither sentence of men grounded upon such manifest
 and clear proof, that they in whose hands it is to alter them may
 likewise infallibly even in heart and conscience judge them so:
 upon necessity to urge alteration is to trouble and disturb
 without necessity. As for arbitrary alterations, when laws in
 themselves not simply bad or unmeet are changed for better
 and more expedient; if the benefit of that which is newly
 better devised be but small, sith the custom of easiness to
 alter and change is so evil, no doubt but to bear a tolerable
 sore is better than to venture on a dangerous remedy.

[3.] Which being generally thought upon as a matter that
 touched nearly their whole enterprise, whereas change was
 notwithstanding concluded necessary, in regard of the great
 hurt which the Church did receive by a number of things then
 in use, whereupon a great deal of that which had been was
 now to be taken away and removed out of the Church; yet
 sith there are divers ways of abrogating things established,
 they saw it best to cut off presently such things as might
 in that sort be extinguished without danger, leaving the rest
 to be abolished by disusage through tract of time. And as this
 was done for the manner of abrogation: so touching the stint

¹ [Min. Felix. c. 5. p. 50. ed. Gronov. "Venerabilis et melius, "rentibus ante imbutus ex timere
 "antiquitatem veritatis majorum ex- "quam nosse familiaris, adorare;
 "cipere disciplinam: religiones "sunt, nec de munitibus ferre senten-
 "traditas colere; deos, quos a pa- see before, p. 159, note 1.]

or measure thereof, rites and ceremonies and other external things of like nature being hurtful unto the Church, either in respect of their quality or in regard of their number; in the former there could be no doubt or difficulty what should be done, their deliberation in the later was more hard. And therefore inasmuch as they did resolve to remove only such things of that kind as the Church might best spare, retaining the residue; their whole counsel is in this point utterly condemned, as having either proceeded from the blindness of those times, or from negligence, or from desire of honour and glory, or from an erroneous opinion that such things might be tolerated for a while; or if it did proceed (as they which would seem most favourable are content to think it possible) from a purpose, "partly the easilier to draw papists unto "the Gospel" (by keeping so many orders still the same with theirs), "and partly to redeem peace thereby, the breach "whereof they might fear would ensue upon more thorough "alteration;" or howsoever it came to pass, the thing they did is judged evil. But such is the lot of all that deal in public affairs whether of church or commonwealth; that which men list to surmise of their doings, be it good or ill, they must beforehand patiently arm their minds to endure. Wherefore to let go private surmises, whereby the thing in itself is not made either better or worse; if just and allowable reasons might lead them to do as they did, then are these censures all frustrate.

[4.] Touching ceremonies harmless therefore in themselves, and hurtful only in respect of number: was it amiss to decree, that those things which were least needful and newest come should be the first that were taken away, as in the abrogating of a number of saints' days, and of other the like customs, it appeareth they did; till afterwards the Form of Common Prayer being perfected, Articles of sound Religion and Discipline agreed upon, Catechisms framed for the needful instruction of youth, churches purged of things that indeed were burdensome to the people or to the simple offensive and scandalous, all was brought at the length unto that wherein now we stand? Or was it amiss, that having this way eased

¹ T. C. lib. ii. p. 39. "It may "the Gospel, partly the easilier to
"well be, their purpose was by that "draw the papists to the Gospel, &c.
"temper of popish ceremonies with "partly to redeem peace thereby."

484 *Moderation leaves entire the Prerogative of the Church :*

BOOK IV. the Church as they thought of superfluity, they went not on
 Ch. 4th. s. 6. till they had plucked up even those things also, which had
 taken a great deal stronger and deeper root ; those things
 which to abrogate without constraint of manifest harm thereby
 arising, had been to alter unnecessarily (in their judgments)
 the ancient received custom of the whole Church, the uni-
 versal practice of the people of God, and those very decrees
 of our fathers, which were not only set down by agreement
 of general councils, but had accordingly been put in ure and
 so continued in use till that very time present ?

[5.] True it is, that neither councils nor customs, be they
 never so ancient and so general, can let the Church from
 taking away that thing which is hurtful to be retained.
 Where things have been instituted, which being convenient
 and good at the first, do afterwards in process of time wax
 otherwise ; we make no doubt but they may be altered, yea,
 though councils or customs general have received them.
 And therefore it is but a needless kind of opposition which
 they make who thus dispute, " If in those things which are
 " not expressed in the Scripture, that is to be observed of the
 " Church, which is the custom of the people of God and
 " decree of our forefathers ; then how can these things at
 " any time be varied, which heretofore have been once or-
 " dained in such sort ¹ ? " Whereto we say, that things so
 ordained are to be kept, howbeit not necessarily any longer,
 than till there grow some urgent cause to ordain the contrary.
 For there is not any positive law of men, whether it be
 general or particular ; received by formal express consent,
 as in councils, or by secret approbation, as in customs it
 cometh to pass ; but the same may be taken away if occasion
 serve. Even as we all know, that many things generally
 kept heretofore are now in like sort generally unkept and
 abolished every where.

[6.] Notwithstanding till such things be abolished, what
 exception can there be taken against the judgment of St.
 Augustine, who saith, " That of things harmless, whatsoever
 " there is which the whole Church doth observe throughout
 " the world, to argue for any man's immunity from observing
 " the same, it were a point of most insolent madness ² "

¹ T. C. lib. iii. p. 30.

² Aug. Epist. 118. [al. 54. c. 5. t. ii. 126.]

was justified by the Event, at home and abroad. 485

And surely odious it must needs have been for one Christian church to abolish that which all had received and held for the space of many ages, and that without any detriment unto religion so manifest and so great, as might in the eyes of impartial men appear sufficient to clear them from all blame of rash and inconsiderate proceeding, if in fervour of zeal they had removed such things. Whereas contrariwise, so reasonable moderation herein used hath freed us from being deservedly subject unto that bitter kind of obloquy, whereby as the church of Rome doth under the colour of love towards those things which be harmless, maintain extremely most hurtful corruptions; so we peradventure might be upbraided, that under colour of hatred towards those things that are corrupt, we are on the other side as extreme even against most harmless ordinances. And as they are obstinate to retain that, which no man of any conscience is able well to defend; so we might be reckoned fierce and violent to tear away that, which if our own mouths did condemn, our consciences would storm and repine thereat. The Romans having banished Tarquinius the Proud, and taken a solemn oath that they never would permit any man more to reign, could not herewith content themselves, or think that tyranny was thoroughly extinguished, till they had driven one of their Consuls to depart the city, against whom they found not in the world what to object, saving only that his name was Tarquin, and that the commonwealth could not seem to have recovered perfect freedom, as long as a man of so dangerous a name was left remaining¹. For the church of England to have done the like in casting out of papal tyranny and superstition; to have shewed greater willingness of accepting the very ceremonies of the Turk², Christ's professed enemy, than of the most indifferent things which the church of Rome approveth; to have left not so much as the names which the church of Rome doth give unto things innocent; to have ejected whatsoever that Church doth make account of, be it never so harmless in itself, and of never so ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, than only that it hath been the hap thereof to be used

¹ [Liv. li. 2.]

² T. C. lib. i. p. 131. "For indeed

"it were more safe for us to conform

"our indifferent ceremonies to the
"Turks which are far off, than to
"the papists which are so near."

486 *Wisdom of moderate Reform in England.—God's special*

BOOK IV.
CH. XIV. 6
—

by the church of Rome, and not to be commanded in the word of God: this kind of proceeding might haply have pleased some few men, who having begun such a course themselves must needs be glad to see their example followed by us¹. But the Almighty which giveth wisdom and inspirereth with right understanding whomsoever it pleaseth him, he foreseeing that which man's wit had never been able to reach unto, namely, what tragedies the attempt of so extreme alteration would raise in some parts of the Christian world², did for the endless good of his Church (as we cannot choose but interpret it) use the bridle of his provident restraining hand, to stay those eager affections in some, and to settle their resolution upon a course more calm and moderate: lest as in other most ample and heretofore most flourishing dominions it hath since fallen out, so likewise if in ours it had come to pass, that the adverse part being enraged, and betaking itself to such practices as men are commonly wont to embrace, when they behold things brought to desperate extremities, and no hope left to see any other end, than only the utter oppression and clean extinguishment of one side; by this mean Christendom flaming in all parts of greatest importance at once, they all had wanted that comfort of mutual relief, whereby they are now for the time sustained (and not the least by this our church which they so much impeach) till mutual combustions³, bloodsheds, and wastes, (because no other inducement will serve,) may enforce them through very faintness, after the experience of so endless miseries, to enter on all sides at the length into some such consultation, as may tend to the best reestablishment of the whole Church of Jesus Christ. To the singular good whereof it cannot but serve as a profitable direction to teach men what is most likely to prove available, when they shall quietly consider the trial that hath been thus long had of both kinds of reformation; as

¹ [Sares. de divers. Ministr. "nomine illa inserat tyrannic, sed Evang. Grad. in Prolog. "Ejectis "in Tarquinio. Sic dico tyranni-
" Tarquinio Roma, Regis nomen "dem, que Ecclesias Christi vau-
" postea non tulere Romani, quasi "tavit, non fuisse in primatu Episco-
" cum nomine ejecta esset quam "porum et Archiepiscoporum, sed
" oderant tyrannic: quales postea "in his qui primatu abusi sunt.]
" plures tyrannidis hinc prepressi " [France, Westphalia, Flandres,
" sunt, quam si Regis zornes et " Scotland.]
" auctoritatem relinquissent. Non " ["Combustions," A. B.: "com-
" enim in regia potestate aut regio " bustions," 1617.] 1886.

well this moderate kind which the church of England hath taken, as that other more extreme and rigorous which certain churches elsewhere have better liked. In the meanwhile it may be, that suspense of judgment and exercise of charity were safer and seemlier for Christian men, than the hot pursuit of these controversies, wherein they that are most fervent to dispute be not always the most able to determine. But who are on his side, and who against him, our Lord in his good time shall reveal.

[7.] And sith thus far we have proceeded in opening the things that have been done, let not the principal doers themselves be forgotten. When the ruins of the house of God (that house which consisting of religious souls is most immediately the precious temple of the Holy Ghost) were become, not in his sight alone, but in the eyes of the whole world so exceeding great, that very superstition began even to feel itself too far grown : the first that with us made way to repair the decays thereof by beheading superstition, was King Henry the Eighth. The son and successor of which famous king as we know was Edward the Saint : in whom (for so by the event we may gather) it pleased God righteous and just to let England see what a blessing sin and iniquity would not suffer it to enjoy. Howbeit that which the wise man hath said concerning Enoch (whose days were though many in respect of ours, yet scarce as three to nine in comparison of theirs with whom he lived) the same to that admirable child most worthily may be applied, " Though he departed this world soon, yet " fulfilled he much time¹. " But what ensued ? That work which the one in such sort had begun, and the other so far proceeded in, was in short space so overthrown, as if almost it had never been : till such time as that God, whose property is to shew his mercies then greatest when they are nearest to be utterly despaired of, caused in the depth of discomfort and darkness a most glorious star² to arise, and on her head settled the crown, whom himself had kept as a lamb from the slaughter of those bloody times ; that the experience of his goodness in her own deliverance might cause her merciful disposition to take so much the more delight in saving others, whom the like necessity should press. What in this behalf

¹ Sap. iv. 13.

² [That bright Occidental Star, "memory." Dedication to King James by the Translators of the Queen Elizabeth of most happy Bible.]

BOOK IV. hath been done towards nations abroad, the parts of Christen-
dom most afflicted can best testify. That which especially
concerneth ourselves, in the present matter we treat of, is the
state of reformed religion, a thing at her coming to the crown
even raised as it were by miracle from the dead ; a thing which
we so little hoped to see, that even they which beheld it done,
scarcely believed their own senses at the first beholding. Yet
being then brought to pass, thus many years it hath continued,
standing by no other worldly mean but that one only hand
which erected it ; that hand which as no kind of imminent
danger could cause at the first to withhold itself, so neither
have the practices so many so bloody following since been
ever able to make weary. Nor can we say in this case so
justly, that Aaron and Hur, the ecclesiastical and civil states,
have sustained the hand which did lift itself to heaven for
them ¹, as that heaven itself hath by this hand sustained them,
no aid or help having thereunto been ministered for perform-
ance of the work of reformation, other than such kind of
help or aid as the Angel in the Prophet Zachary speaketh of,
saying, "Neither by an army nor strength, but by my Spirit,
"saith the Lord of Hosts ²." Which grace and favour of
divine assistance having not in one thing or two shewed itself,
nor for some few days or years appeared, but in such sort so
long continued, our manifold sins and transgressions striving
to the contrary ; what can we less thereupon conclude, than
that God would at leastwise by tract of time teach the world,
that the thing which he blesseth, defendeth, keepeth so
strangely, cannot choose but be of him ? Wherefore, if any
refuse to believe us disputing for the verity of religion esta-
blished, let them believe God himself thus miraculously working
for it, and wish life even for ever and ever unto that glorious
and sacred instrument whereby he worketh.

¹ [Exod. xvii. 12.]

² Zach. iv. 6.

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